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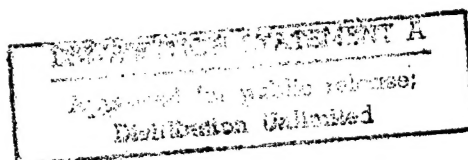


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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

***Political Affairs***



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# Soviet Union

## Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-004

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29 JANUARY 1988

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### Moldavian Party Resolution on Nationalities Issue

18000047a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 30 Sep 87 pp 1-2

[Resolution passed at the 29 September 1987 Meeting of the Moldavian Party Aktiv: "The Tasks of the Republic's Party Organizations in Improving the International and Patriotic Education of the Workers in the Light of the CPSU Central Committee's Resolution on Kazakhstan"]

[Text] After listening to and discussing the report by First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia [MCP] S. K. Grossu, the meeting of the republic's party aktiv notes that the party's gorkoms and raykoms and the republic's primary party organizations, guided by the principles of Leninist national policy and the requirements of the new edition of the CPSU Program, are carrying out a definite amount of work to develop in various population groups a scientific view of the world, ideological conviction, feelings of proletarian, socialist internationalism and Soviet patriotism, and intolerance of any nationalistic manifestations.

Steps are being taken for the more complete satisfying of the public's social and cultural wants, with a consideration of its national makeup and the needs in the sphere of education, culture, literature and arts, the mass information media, book publishing, and amateur artistic creativity. When the party ranks are supplemented, party, soviet, and public agencies are formed, and personnel are promoted, steps are being taken to guarantee the representation of all nations and nationalities that live in the republic.

The multinational collectives in the Moldavian SSR have been multiplying their contribution to the implementation of the party's strategic course, which is aimed at restructuring and the accelerated development of the socioeconomic and spiritual spheres of society. In 1986 the republic's national income increased by 8.8 percent, with an average annual increase of 3.3 during the past five-year plan. The volume of industrial production increased by 6.3 percent, and gross output in agriculture, by 10.1 percent. Practically the entire increase in the national income was obtained as a result of the increase in the productivity of social labor, which increased by 8.5 percent. During the first eight months of the current year the rates of increase in industrial production surpassed the planned assignments and came to 7.6 percent, and for labor productivity, 7.9 percent.

By the efforts of the party committees and the primary party organizations, a restructuring is in progress in the system of political, class education, and the political and economic training of members of the Communist Party and the Komsomol, and of non-party members. More

attention is being devoted to the education of the workers, especially young people, in the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the Communist Party and the Soviet nation.

At the same time the meeting of the republic's party aktiv feels that the level and content of the work involved in the international and patriotic education of the republic's workers do not yet conform to the requirements of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent Central Committee Plenums or to the goals set by CPSU Central Committee General Secretary M. S. Gorbachev. This work is not always coordinated with life, with the practice of economic and cultural building, or with people's moods and wants.

The party's gorkoms and raykoms, the primary party organizations, the trade-union and Komsomol agencies, the ministries, state committees, and departments in the republic have not yet achieved a situation in which the questions that stand in the center of their organizational and political work are the questions of educating people in the spirit of the high responsibility borne by every worker for resolving the overall tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, and for the strict observance of the contractual pledges to the fraternal republics. The output sales plan, with a consideration of the pledges for delivery, was fulfilled by only 98.9 percent in the first eight months of the current year; this is 0.6 percent less than last year's corresponding level. The largest lag occurred in industry under republic subordination; the fruit and vegetable branch of MSSR Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Committee] (Comrade M. M. Dermenzhi); Ministry of Local Industry (Comrade N. D. Kudryavtseva); Ministry of Light Industry (Comrade S. A. Manukyan); Ministry of Construction Materials (Comrade I. I. Demichenko); and others.

Insufficiently decisive steps are being taken to overcome a bureaucratic attitude, malfeasance, and violations of the principles of social justice, which situations give rise to backslidings into petty-bourgeois national psychology. Not all collectives have created an atmosphere that completely precludes the stealing of the nation's wealth, instances of figure-padding, and fraud. One still sees evidence of instances of favoritism toward local interests and of wanting to live at the expense of others, as well as instances of hushing up shortcomings and making uncritical evaluations of the results of labor. Not infrequently, thoughtful, planned educational work is replaced by actions taken only for show and by bombastic statements.

The Kishinev and Tiraspol gorkoms, the party's Lazovskiy, Rybnitskiy, Komratskiy, and other raykoms, the primary party organizations, MSSR Ministry of Culture, and MSSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education took a formal approach toward the fulfillment of the MCP Central Committee's 19 August 1986 resolution, entitled "Condition and Measures for Intensifying the Patriotic and International Education of the

Republic's Population, and the Fight Against Manifestations of Nationalism." Many party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol workers, the ideological aktiv, and economic managers failed to rid themselves of ideas concerning national processes as being processes devoid of problems, and frequently refrain from making frank replies to questions asked by the workers and from giving a well-argued explanation of the essence and achievements of the party's national policy.

In a number of party organizations, questions of international education have not been studied or considered for years.

The meeting of the republic's party aktiv considers it to be completely inadmissible that, under the slogan of restructuring, individual representatives of the intellectual class have been displaying a disrespectful attitude toward the history of socialist building in the republic and having been attempting, despite the historical truth, to revise the process of the development and consolidation of Soviet authority, to idealize the past of the Moldavian nation, to rehabilitate bourgeois nationalists, and persistently and boastfully to overemphasize the national, to the detriment of the Soviet-wide. The authors of individual published works have been deviating from the principle of adherence to party policy, have been smoothing over the seriousness of the class struggle, have been brazenly speculating on the errors of the past, and have been engaging in social demagoguery, national selfishness, and arrogance, thus attesting to the low level of their political self-awareness. Democratization and **glasnost** are perceived by them as complete permissiveness to propagandize ideas that contradict socialist internationalism. These manifestations, which are detrimental to the ideological and political education of the workers, especially the young ones, are being given absolutely no well-principled party evaluation.

In scientific research one still sees slight evidence of the new tendencies and phenomena in national relations and in international education, or the working out of specific practical recommendations.

The party organizations have not been penetrating deeply into the processes occurring among young people, especially in collectives of schoolchildren and students in higher education. In the education of young people the approach has been a formal, bureaucratic one aimed at empty edification. Proper concern has not been shown for the internationalist fighting men who have completed service in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, or for involving them in active work to provide military-patriotic education for the upcoming generation. Young people of pre-induction age are being poorly prepared for service in the Soviet Army. In these questions one considers to see the playing of a passive role by the Central Committee of the Moldavian Komsomol, the Central Committee of MSSR DOSAAF, and the republic's Voenkomat.

The departments of the MCP Central Committee, the party's gorkoms and raykoms, and the primary party organizations have not yet achieved a situation in which all the administrative workers give political reports regularly to the workers, and they have been doing little to involve the engineer-technical cadres and agricultural specialists in ideological-educational work. The party committees have not been showing high exactingness to party-member administrators for the state of educational work in the labor collectives, and have not been showing sufficient concern for increasing the effectiveness of the steps being taken.

The meeting of the republic's party aktiv deems it necessary to recommend:

1. The Central Committee buro, the party raykoms, and the primary party organizations must analyze thoroughly the state of the national relations and the international and patriotic education of the public in the light of the goals stated at the 27th CPSU Congress, the January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and the recommendations of the CPSU Central Committee that were expounded in the resolution on Kazakhstan, and must also carry out, in all labor collectives, educational institutions, and creative unions, steps to achieve the fundamental restructuring of that work. They must intensify the education of the public in the spirit of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR and of high responsibility for resolving nationwide tasks, must increase the republic's contribution to the country's single national-economic complex, and must guarantee the worthy marking of the 70th anniversary of the Great October [Revolution] and the 65th anniversary of the formation of the USSR.

In the ideological, political-educational work, means of party and economic training, lecture-type propaganda, and spoken and graphic political agitation must be used to reveal clearly and convincingly the advantages of the socialist system, the fundamental economic, social, and cultural changes that have occurred in the life of the republic's workers during the years of the Soviet authority, and the successes in communist building as a result of the fraternal friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid among all the peoples of our country. Broader steps must be taken to propagandize Marxist-Leninist theory of the national question, the national policy of the CPSU and its achievements, the progress in all areas and the gradual bringing closer together of the socialist nations, the reciprocal enrichment of their cultures, and the development of the national languages and the Russian language as means of communication among nationalities. In this work there must be a rejection of hackneyed, stereotypical slogans and appeals. The attempt must be made to achieve a situation in which people master a scientific view of the world, a view that provides the opportunity to understand the tendencies of social development, to orient oneself in current events, and, on the basis of deep inner conviction, to participate actively in the revolutionary renovation of all spheres of our life.

The MCP Central Committee's plan for measures to assure the further improvement of the international and patriotic education of the public in the light of the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee's resolution on Kazakstan must be approved.

2. The party, soviet, trade-union, Komsomol, and other public organizations and the republic's creative unions must carry out a series of additional, completely substantiated measures that are aimed at reinforcing and developing in the awareness of the workers, and primarily the young ones, the ideas of proletarian, socialist internationalism, and at eliminating the shortcomings that exist in their ideological education.

It is recommended that all steps be taken to develop the labor and political participation of the workers, and to improve the organization and increase the effectiveness of the socialist competition for the successful fulfillment of the assignments of the 12th Five-Year Plan, the state plans, and the pledges taken by the republic's collectives for 1987 and for the 12th Five-Year Plan as a whole. There must be a steady increase in the return on the scientific-production potential that has been created in the republic, and an improvement in the quality of the output being produced. There must be a decisive fight against manifestations of favoritism toward local interests and against moods that indicate the desire to live at other people's expense. It is recommended that an effective competition be organized, as well as the exchange of experience with the labor collectives, cities, rayons, and oblasts of the fraternal union republics. All kinds of support must be given to expanding cooperation with the labor collectives of the socialist countries, and the necessary economic and organizational conditions must be created for developing production and scientific-technical ties and joint enterprises and associations with foreign countries.

Guided by the goals of the January and June 1987 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, there must be an intensification of party supervision in the field of economics as the material basis of the friendship of people of various nationalities, and there must be a party approach to the resolution of economic problems.

There must be a fundamental improvement in the development of the republic's social and cultural sphere. Necessary steps must be taken to eliminate the lag in the construction of housing, enterprises in the municipal economy, trade, and the cultural and personal-services sphere, schools and preschool institutions, public health projects, houses of culture, and clubs. Effective steps must be taken to improve trade and public nutrition and the providing of municipal, personal, and medical services to the public.

Additional impetus must be given to the carrying out of the fundamental restructuring of the entire system of working with cadres under conditions of broad **glasnost** on democratic principles. Every party organization must

make complete use of the statutory right to resolve cadre questions. There must be a striving for a situation in which all the nations and nationalities inhabiting the republic are properly represented in the administrative agencies and apparatuses and public organizations. Decisive steps must be taken to stamp out protectionism and the selection of cadres on the basis of favoritism based on where people live or on friendship.

3. The departments of the Central Committee, the party's raykoms, and the primary party organizations must fundamentally improve the international education of the scientific, creative, and technical intellectual class. More aggressive steps must be taken to involve them in political work among the masses, and a decisive effort must be made to overcome the passive attitude that some of them still have toward public life and toward the education of the workers. It is necessary to imbue in the artistic intellectuals a sense of high responsibility to the party and the nation for creating works that are profoundly ideological in content and that are expressive in form, works that depict the vitally important problems of the life of our society and reveal the outward appearance of advanced people. An energetic, aggressive struggle must be waged against nationalistic moods, archaic traditions, and the nonclass approach to the evaluation of public phenomena. The party organizations of the creative unions must be reinforced by accepting into the party talented and publicly active representatives of the creative intellectual class.

The attention of the party organizations, ideological institutions, and propaganda cadres and aktiv must be concentrated on the need to wage an aggressive fight against bourgeois and revisionistic falsifications of the national policy of the CPSU and the history and modern socialist activity of Moldavia, and against the ideological subversion carried out by imperialism. There must be broad propagandizing among the foreign public the achievements of the Moldavian nation in the fraternal family of nations of the USSR.

There must be a substantial rise in the level of all the political-educational and ideological work among young people, and steps must be taken to educate the ideologically mature, politically active internationalist-patriots and reliable defenders of the Homeland. High moral qualities must be developed in the young men and women, as well as their thorough understanding of the international importance of their labor.

Steps must be taken to educate high efficiency in communication among nationalities, and to instill a respectful attitude toward the history, language, and customs of the fraternal nations. The ability to take an approach from class positions to any national problems must be developed in people. There must be an improvement in the work of the party and Komsomol organizations at institutions of higher learning, vocational-technical schools, and general educational schools, there must be

an intensification of their influence upon the instructional and educational process and the training of highly skilled specialists, and there must be an increase in their role in the ideological and labor tempering of the young people in general, secondary, and higher educational institutions. Steps must be taken to preclude protectionism, nepotism, bribery, and other undesirable situations when accepting students at institutions of higher learning and technicums.

4. Party organizations must work persistently to increase the effectiveness of the ideological measures being taken, must work decisively to eradicate elements of formalism in political work, and must work everywhere to coordinate and channel the activity of the ideological institutions. There must be a differentiated approach to various groups of the population, and a skillful combination of the mass and individual forms of education, to assure that every person is contacted. The mass-political work at people's place of residence must be improved. There must be an increase in the role and responsibility of the labor collectives in the job of communist education and the development of the workers' participation rate. There must be increased activity in the atheistic work among the public and a differentiation of the forms and methods of that work.

5. The party's gorkoms and raykoms must increase their exactingness toward the party organizations, the local Soviets of People's Deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol, and the cultural institutions for the content, ideological directedness, and organization of political work, and for the fulfillment of the decisions being made with regard to ideological-political questions. It is necessary to strive for a situation in which all the party, soviet, and economic agencies, the trade-union and Komsomol organizations, and all the administrative cadres engage constantly in the communist education of the workers. There must be indissoluble unity in carrying out the tasks of the socioeconomic and ideological-political education of people. Special attention must be devoted to deepening the process of the reciprocal enrichment of the national cultures.

The party organizations must take effective steps to reinforce law and order, discipline, and organizational spirit in all spheres of life in the republic. All the means of party-political influence and administrative coercion must be used to achieve the decisive eradication of instances of figure-padding and fraud, money-grubbing and the theft of socialist property, drunkenness and alcoholism, and other undesirable situations. There must be an increase in the exactingness toward the cadres of administrative agencies, and steps must be taken to increase their participation rate in guaranteeing the strict observance of the laws, the rights of citizens, and the principles of social justice.

6. The editorial offices of newspapers and magazines, and MSSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] must guarantee the broad

explanation of the essence of the national policy of the CPSU at the present-day stage, and must promote the development of people's internationalistic maturity and an atmosphere of faithfulness to one's international and patriotic duty. They must introduce special series of printed articles and of broadcasts dealing with questions of Marxist-Leninist theory concerning nations, the party's national policy, and the organization and improvement of international and patriotic education. They must constantly throw light on the advanced experience of the work carried out by the party, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations in asserting the Soviet way of life and in developing relations among nationalities. They must take time-responsive steps to reveal in a convincing manner the machinations of bourgeois propaganda and its attempts to instigate religious and nationalistic moods, and they must take active steps to oppose arrogance and local favoritism and to achieve healthy national relations. MSSR Goskomizdat [State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade] must develop cooperation with the publishing houses of the union republics and must make broad use of their experience in producing counter-propaganda literature and books in the languages of the nonindigenous nationalities.

The meeting of the republic's party aktiv expresses its confidence that the party, soviet, trade-union, and Komsomol organizations, the creative unions, and the labor collectives will thoroughly analyze the state of the work of implementing the party's aims in the area of national relations, will define and carry out effective steps to intensify the international and patriotic education of various groups of the population, and will actively use for that purpose the preparation for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 65th anniversary of the formation of the USSR.

**The resolution was approved by resolution of the Buro of the MCP Central Committee, dated 29 September 1987.**

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#### **Moldavian Party Aktiv Views National Minorities Problem**

*18000072 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 3 Oct 87 p 4*

[ATEM report on speeches at 29 September 1987 meeting of party aktiv: "Bringing Up Patriots and Internationalists"]

[Excerpts] The debate was opened by Kishinev Party Gorkom First Secretary N.A. Tsyu. He said that in recent years a great deal has been said about the need for improving international and patriotic education. The party authorities are making the proper decisions on improving the propagation of Lenin's national policy, and on improving the standards of international relations. But how are these decisions being implemented in practice? No decisive, positive achievements can be

seen. At the same time there is too much attraction for carrying out all sorts of measures, with the usual reports and elements of ostentation as in the past.

Strong ties of friendship bind the multinational collectives of Kishinev with many other enterprises in our country, the BPR [Bulgarian People's Republic] and the GDR. However, a thin coating of formalism, excessive organization, and an inability to produce end results is felt here as well. Certain enterprises, unfortunately, have proven to be unreliable partners. For example, during the first eight months of this year, 22 collectives have failed to deliver production in the amount of almost 13 million rubles. How can one speak of internationalism when the holiest of holies—deliveries—are not carried out?!

The speaker furthermore finds it alarming that our young people widely practice making a fetish of Western fashions; that they ape foreign standards and practice consumerism. While some of our young people are being enticed by imported articles, our light industry enterprises are not appearing in the best light and are still producing articles for which there is no demand. High-quality and especially fashionable clothing are still being produced in small amounts. And the working collectives are still not receiving the required support from the ministries, and especially union-level ministries, to solve this problem.

National chauvinism, national arrogance, and national provincialism are, to a large extent, the products of improper upbringing in childhood. Party organizations should make more frequent practice of hearing reports from communists on the upbringing of their children, and holding them strictly liable for neglect in this most important matter.

"In recent times many conversations revolved around the Gagauz and the Bulgarians, about their participation in social life, and about their living and working conditions," stressed S.V. Azman, vegetable crop brigade leader on the Gigant Kolkhoz in Vulkaneshtskiy Rayon. "As a Gagauzka, these questions cannot but disturb me."

"Ours is an international farm. On it representatives of a dozen nationalities labor shoulder to shoulder. We make it a practice to judge people not by their national origin, but by their attitude toward work. My fellow brigade members and myself cannot understand the position of certain Gagauz cultural figures who believe that our people have been frustrated in receiving its rights, who demand 'justice' —the establishment of autonomy for the Gagauz. I would like to say that in general they do not know about our life, and are only trying to gain notoriety, or create a scandal if you will, at our expense.

"What in fact is the attitude toward the Gagauz? Here are only a few of the facts: in our rayon 15 representatives of our nationality have been chosen as members of the party raykom, and 28 as deputies of the rayon soviet

of people's deputies. Among us there are two Heroes of Socialist Labor. For the second year now the rayon newspaper *Put k kommunizmu* [The Path to Communism] has regularly published columns in the Gagauz and Bulgarian languages; and once a month local radio programming is broadcast in Gagauz. School children now have the opportunity to study their native language in depth. You see—it is a sin and a shame—that many know their language only in the context of domestic relations. When I was asked to make a speech on radio as a delegate of the 16th Congress of the Moldavian CP, I was placed in a very difficult position, for I did not know many of the political terms. And so scholars and cultural figures have their work to do, in order to make our language richer and better endowed."

Speaking on the need to make wider use of the potential of the social sciences and historic knowledge in educational work among the public was V.I. Tsaranov, director of the History Institute at the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences. The speaker expressed his uneasiness at certain publications which have appeared in the periodical press concerning the history of the republic, in which free interpretation is given to facts, which leads to digression from the true facts and from the historical truth. "In conditions of increasing democracy and broad glasnost," he said, "there must also be growth in competence and responsibility for every word uttered or written."

"In our rayon," noted P.F. Tanurkov, secretary of the party organization of Kiryutyanskaya Secondary School No 2 in Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayon and the organizer of extracurricular work, "Gagauz and Bulgarians, Russians and Moldavians, Ukrainians and Belorussians, and representatives of 29 other nationalities live and work as a happy family."

The speaker further described the experience accumulated by the rayon party organization in the international and patriotic upbringing of the workers, and dwelt in detail on those problems which have arisen in the course of putting into practice the resolution of the Moldavian CP Central Committee, "On Developing the Socio-Political and Labor Activeness of the Population of Gagauz and Bulgarian Nationalities." He paid particular attention to the fact that the newspaper *Literatura shi arta* once a quarter prints a page with materials in the Bulgarian and Gagauz languages, but that there are only three subscribers in the rayon. Naturally this paper does not reach a wide circle of readers; therefore, it would make sense to publish this page in the newspaper *Sovetskaya Moldaviya*. In his opinion greater social and political direction should be given to this page, and the same applies to radio and television broadcasts. The effectiveness of all work on the propaganda of the history, life and culture of the Gagauz and Bulgarians must be increased.

In his speech, MoSSR KGB Chairman G.M. Volkov dwelt in detail on the subversive activities against Moldavia of special services, foreign centers and organizations. He noted that our class enemy considers nationalism and religion a Trojan horse, designed to break down

socialism from within. As always, the greatest activity in organizing ideological diversion is displayed by the subversive radio stations *Radio Liberty* and *Radio Free Europe*, where those who have left the republic have found a comfortable hide-out, including the Lupans—father and son; one Krimerman; and Renata Lisnik. In trying to adopt the perestroyka now going on in our country to their own foul purposes, these renegades are changing their tactics. They are not only commenting in a slanderous manner on the critical articles published in the union and republic press, but are also inciting their radio audience in Moldavia to antisoviet, nationalistic activities.

Immigrant nationalist groups and organizations have noticeably stepped up their subversive activities. They are publishing books which falsify the history of Moldavia, speculate on the "Bessarabian Question," and accuse the Soviet Union of violating the Helsinki Agreements.

A number of Zionist organizations from abroad are actively operating against the republic. By means of their emissaries, mail and telephone contacts, by courier channels, as well as via radio broadcasts, they are striving to provoke the desire to emigrate among people of the Jewish nationality; they are attempting to gather slanderous information in the republic on the so-called Jewish question; they are sending in antisoviet literature; and they are rendering material and moral support to local nationalists. But today we can confidently state that in spite of all these vain attempts, the Zionists' hopes for mass emigration of Jews from Moldavia have collapsed.

Western propaganda, as well as certain politically immature persons who echo its words, love to talk about the economic frustrations in the MoSSR, and about the fact that a large portion of the products developed in our area are exported to other regions of the country and that Moldavia is feeding just about all of Russia. Our press, radio and television, however, are not giving the proper rebuff to such falsifications. The theme of the mutual economic ties between the MoSSR and the other republics of the country has not been exhausted—and, along with the topics of the friendship and cooperation of the Moldavian people with the workers of the other socialist countries, it should be placed at the center of attention of the mass media. Issues of international friendship within the multinational working collectives also deserve wider publicity. Poor use is made of famous events in the life of the republic in the education of the workers and especially the young people. Knowledgeable people, those who took part in the establishment of Soviet rule in the area, should become more intensively involved in this work.

**I.K. Chobanu**, first secretary of the board of the MoSSR Writers' Union, noted that the make-up of the Moldavian writers' organization corresponds to the multinational structure of the population in the republic: literature is being produced in the Moldavian, Russian, Gagauz, Bulgarian and Hebrew languages. Books are being published in these languages as well.

At the same time one should not get the impression that there are no problems in the national processes in our republic. In some VUZ's there are hardly any groups but Russian, and at the medical and agricultural institutes not a single subject is taught in the Moldavian language. In response to the question, why there is not a single Moldavian school in Tiraspol, the city administrators say that only 12 percent of the populace is Moldavian, forgetting that with a population of 200,000, that amounts to almost 25,000 people.

The speaker considers it a matter of negligence, that with all the close ties of friendship with the Ukraine, and in spite of the fact that 600,000 Ukrainians live in the republic, there are no regional newspapers in the Ukrainian language in the rayons in which they live. Nor is there a single Ukrainian school in the republic. And this same question comes up in the south of Moldavia too, where the Gagauz and the Bulgarians live.

"My own generation experienced for itself the power of internationalism and patriotism in the most difficult periods in the history of the Fatherland," noted veteran of war and labor **A.I. Volmark**, chairman of the Beltsy city soviet. "We see its most important role in educational work, especially among the young people. A commission for working with young people has been established at the city Veterans' Society; and Veteran and Patriot clubs, as well as Museums of Military Valor, are in operation. A council for army reservists has been set up in affiliation with the gorkom and the Komsomol, which includes a section for internationalist-soldiers.

"Unfortunately, our work does not embrace all categories of the city residents, and we do not always find the proper form of intercourse. We are hampered by stereotyped thinking and the inability to grasp on a timely basis that which is uppermost in the minds of the young people, and to touch their secret heartstrings. A study of the issues of the culture of international relations in our city has shown that far from everything is as favorable among us as we may have imagined. Among those surveyed there were those who do not believe that good relations have been formed among persons of different nationality, and certain ones expressed a preference to work in a collective consisting of only their own nationality. The majority of those surveyed displayed an extremely poor knowledge of Moldavian history. This is a result of the fact that we, the veterans, as well as many ideological workers, have unfortunately only recently begun to bring out some of the factors which have been hindering educational work among the young people.

"There was a time when we were overly zealous in our prohibitions. But now, taking advantage of glasnost in their own way, certain extremist-oriented elements are trying to create enmity among the representatives of the various nations and nationalities who live in our republic. At times they have stirred up the problem of the national minorities without any basis whatever.

"The extensive network of schools and children's pre-school institutions which has been set up in our republic provides training and education to the children in the language preferred by their parents," noted **D.G. Zidu**, Moldavian SSR Minister of Education, in his speech. "Today we have 968 schools and 1,299 kindergartens with training and education in the Moldavian language; 419 schools and 827 kindergartens with education and training in Russian; and 119 schools and 186 kindergartens in which training and education is carried out in Russian and Moldavian. Since last year, based on the desires of the parents and the children in the schools where the basic contingent is made up of Gagauz and Bulgarians, study of their native languages has been introduced. It is true that there are no schools with Ukrainian language training, but in the last ten years the ministry has not received a single request to open parallel classes or groups where the Ukrainian language might be studied in the schools or kindergartens."

Moldavian SSR Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary **I.I. Buzhenitsa** stated that, "By means of specific actions, the Komsomol organizations are today speaking out on the radical revolutionary changes taking place in the country."

"But along with the growth of labor and socio-political activeness of the young men and women, invigorated by the moral atmosphere in the primary Komsomol links, negative phenomena in the young people's social milieu are still slow to be rooted out—juvenile delinquency, drunkenness, narcotics addiction, and prostitution. The rise of informal youth associations, formed on an unhealthy basis, is cause for alarm. Instead of in-depth study and penetration of the essence of these phenomena; and instead of skillfully and decisively counteracting them, the Komsomol cadres and the aktiv quite often display timidity, helplessness, and even complacency."

"It must be admitted that the system of international and patriotic education of young people which exists in the Komsomol is 'spinning its wheels'; moreover, fragmentation is taking place, starting with the Pioneer organizations. We must in the most essential manner improve the education of young men and women in the heroic traditions of the Communist Party and the Soviet people, and change the attitude toward the use of our sacred objects—the hymn, the flag, the seal of the USSR and the pioneer necktie—and the elements of the blood-stained Red Banner."

"The international and patriotic education of the working youth requires fundamental restructuring. In recent times people have appeared among certain parts of the young production workers, who are more concerned with their own interests than in the interests of their Fatherland."

09006

### **KiSSR Considers Nationality, Class in Formation of Party Ranks**

*18200065a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 3 Sep 87 p 2*

[Report KirTAG correspondent Z. Sorokina: "Work To Purify the Party Ranks—An Important Factor of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] Entry of new members into the party should be an effective means of ideological and organizational strengthening of party organizations, enhancing their effect on the course of restructuring, and renewing all aspects of economic and social life. This fundamental requirement is emphasized with new force in the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Serious Shortcomings in the Work of the Tashkent Oblast Party Organization in Accepting Individuals Into the Party and Strengthening Party Ranks."

The work of party organizations of Kirghizia to bring individuals into the party and strengthen party ranks in light of the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress, as well as problems of improving the practice of selection and acceptance into the party, was discussed at seminars, participated in by secretaries, heads of organizational-party departments, and chairmen of party commissions of obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms.

Reports were made by the following individuals: in Sokuluk, Second Secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee **G. N. Kiselev**; in Osh, Second Secretary of the Obkom **N. P. Davydov**; in Przhevalsk, Second Secretary of the Obkom **M. A. Davletov**; in Talas, Second Secretary of the Obkom **V. I. Artemov**; and in Naryn, Second Secretary of the Obkom **A. M. Tarakan**.

The following individuals spoke at oblast seminars: in Osh, first secretary of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee **A. M. Masaliyev**; in Przhevalsk, Head of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Department of Organizational-Party Work **M. F. Vasilenko**; in Talas, Deputy Head of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Department of Organizational-Party Work **S. M. Tynayev**; and in Naryn, chairman of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Commission of Party Control **M. Sh. Sherimkulov**.

### **To Accept the Worthy**

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January and June (1987) plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, which developed restructuring in the country, obligate us to take a more thoughtful and exacting attitude toward the formation of party ranks, and above all in the high-priority directions of social and economic development. The most important criterion for entry into the party, as was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee decree concerning the Tashkent Oblast party

organization, should be the individual's attitude toward restructuring, glasnost, criticism and self-criticism, the process of strengthening democracy, and practical participation in implementing these things. Concern for the purity of party ranks, and guarding them against careerists and people without firm moral foundations, is the primary duty and most important obligation of every primary party organization, and each member of the CPSU.

The 27th CPSU Congress, and the 18th Congress and subsequent plenums of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee, pointed out the substantial shortcomings in the cadre policies of the republic party organization. The causes of violations of norms of party life were revealed, as well as abuses of position on the part of responsible individuals. These things were promoted by an anything-goes and all-is-forgiven atmosphere for a specific and fairly significant category of leadership workers who ignored the demands of the CPSU Charter and grossly flouted the demands of social justice.

These negative phenomena have also had a bad effect on the practice of accepting individuals into the party; they led to clogging of party organizations by insufficiently mature, unstable, and sometimes even alien elements, and the organizations' loss of their fighting readiness and vanguard role.

Despite the fact that following the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, in Kirghizia alone more than 2,000 communists on the staff of the republic organization left the party, as was emphasized at the seminar, no small number of careerists, idlers, drunkards, politically immature, ignorant, ideologically unreliable or sluggish people remained. In their letters to the Central Committee, veterans of the party and of labor, participants in the Great Patriotic War, and working people reported with indignation outrages in the work and personal behavior in individual leaders. All of this demands that we renew the cadre corps, provide a more healthy moral-political climate, and increase our attention to the basic links of acceleration—the primary party organizations.

The cornerstone should unquestionably be the class principle for forming the party. In the last 10 years, the specific proportion of workers among the individuals accepted into party ranks increased and now comprises 56.9 percent. But a thorough analysis shows that not all is well on this issue.

The proportion of individuals from the indigenous nationality among workers of leading professions in the basic sectors of industry, construction, and design and planning bureaus is still negligible. And no fundamental

changes are foreseen for the near future, since in vocational and technical schools and tekhnikums, and in cadres training for machine building and construction, representatives of the indigenous nationality are also in the minority.

There are instances of acceptance into the party of workers who are not in basic professions, and also from sections of production which are not crucial ones. Sometimes individuals entering the party who list themselves as workers on the questionnaire in actual fact are not. With the connivance and lack of principle of party committees, they become workers only temporarily, in order to get into the party more quickly and easily. For example, in the party organization of Construction and Assembly Administration No 9 of the Frunzestroy Trust, M. Otunchiyev, a carpenter with a civil engineering education, was accepted as a candidate party member. After only a month, he was transferred into a scientific-research institute, and soon after was fired from there.

There are especially many problems in the agroindustrial complex of the republic. Behind the superficially good indicators, serious errors and inadequacies were hidden. It would appear that it could be considered fully satisfactory that out of a total number of livestock breeders, communist party members constitute 12 percent. But on 412 farms there is no party member at all, and on 494 only one or two, and therefore no possibility of creating a party group.

A number of party organizations of Osh Oblast conduct the formation of their ranks without taking into account the actual needs for party forces, the existing base of growth, or the degree of preparation of those entering the party. In 7.5 years the Tash-Kumyr, Kyzyl-Kiya, and Osh city party organizations, and Ala-Bukinskiy, Dzhangidzholskiy, and Bazar-Kurganskiy rayon party organizations have grown by 25-43 percent. This substantially exceeds the rate of increase in the number of persons occupied in the economy.

This unjustified speeding up of entry into the party is a consequence of the opinion entrenched among many party workers and activists that increasing the party stratum is a natural means of strengthening party influence. Life shows that this is far from the case.

The practice of accepting individuals into the party "by nomination" has not completely become obsolete. Sharp criticism for this at the seminar was addressed to the Przhewalsk Gorkom, which gave consent to the primary party organization of the oblast administration of vocational and technical education to accept as a candidate CPSU member the head of the educational-methodological cabinet, N. Azhikozhoyev, in connection with plans to appoint him director of a rural vocational and technical school. It was well-known that in the collective he was characterized as hard to get along with, and that he abused his official position—he persecuted the director of the rural vocational and technical school and forced

him to retire in order to open the position. After receiving the consent of the gorkom, the primary party organization hurriedly, without the appropriate formulation of documents, accepted N. Azhikozhoyev as a candidate CPSU member, and on the very same day he was named director of the school. And how did the young communist start off his activity? Within a week, he "washed out" of the high position; he was arrested by the militia. It was necessary to remove him from the post, and reverse the hasty decision to accept him into the party. A fair punishment for patronage was also imposed on those who had made his undeserved advancement possible.

Candidacies for acceptance into the CPSU are frequently still outlined by the secretaries of party organizations in an autocratic manner, without taking into account the opinion of the shop organization, the party group, or the collective. At times, they talk the workers into things, urging them to accept an entrant in place of doing the painstaking explanatory work to form an active, vital position and a precise political orientation among them.

An outdated, stereotyped approach toward forming party ranks is taken in the party organizations of Dzhungalskiy Rayon and the city of Naryn, and Chatkalskiy and Kara-Suyskiy rayons of Osh Oblast. If an application which has been handed in fulfills the production plan, and is not late for the work, this means there are no complaints made against it. And as a result it turns out that the labor activity of one individual has been dictated solely by material interests, and he is not concerned with how well his comrades are working alongside; another turns out to be immoral in his way of life, and inclined to drinking; a third easily enters into violations of party and state discipline.

The open party meetings to discuss candidacies for acceptance into the party are becoming an important factor in the fight for high-quality replenishment of party ranks. But still far from all party organizations are able to create a benevolent atmosphere at the meetings, where both communists and nonparty members give an objective assessment of the pluses and minuses in the work and behavior of the individuals entering the party. Frequently the entire affair is reduced to listening to the biographies and two or three perfunctory questions.

#### Justice—Above All Else

Well-planned regulation of the social, nationality, and age composition of the party ranks is a fundamental demand of the party.

The principle of internationalism is of great significance for strengthening the unity and cohesion of party ranks. A departure from internationalism has a negative effect on cadre policies, reduces the effectiveness of the internationalist education of the population, and does not provide for social justice.

The representation of various nationalities in the republic party organization today, as was observed at the seminars, does not correspond to the international structure of the population. For example, among the nomenklatura workers in the Central Committee, and in oblast, city, and rayon committees of the party, individuals of the indigenous nationality make up 61.4 percent, but at the same time, those of, for example, Uzbek nationality total only 5.3 percent, although their proportion in the republic population is approximately 13 percent.

Acceptance into the party is sometimes conducted without taking into account the structure of the inhabitants. On Rassvet Kolkhoz of Sokulukskiy Rayon, not a single Ukrainian has been accepted as a candidate party member during the last 1.5 years, although this nationality comprises approximately 6.7 percent of the population here. Among those accepted there is only one German, although 20 percent of the people on the farm are German. There are analogous instances in Issyk-Atinskiy, Moskovskiy, and Chuyskiy rayons, and the city of Tokmake.

"It is necessary to increase the political and educational work among representatives of various nationalities and bring social justice up to the norm," said First Secretary of Kantskiy Raykom P. I. Manchenko in his speech. "The Kirghiz and the Russian, the German and the Dungan should know that any one of them who has the appropriate business, political, and moral qualities can be advanced into a leadership position without any obstacle."

Selection into the party is not conducted with sufficient thoroughness with regard to representatives of the intelligentsia: leading scientists, physicians, instructors, and cultural figures. Instead of these individuals, workers who play a secondary role in their spheres of activity are becoming communists.

A substantial role here has sometimes been played by protectionism, family connections, and toadying. For example, from 1983 to 1985 half of the scientific workers accepted by the party organization of the Kirghiz SSR Academy of Sciences turned out to be from the families of academicians, directors of institutes, enterprises, and organizations, and party workers.

Such an approach is also present in the party organizations of higher educational institutions. The facts attest that the university students accepted into the party were not distinguished by sound knowledge or active social activity. In Kirghiz State University among the individuals accepted as candidate CPSU members within the last year and a half, the majority have no labor or life experience, the second- and third-year students spring from families of white-collar workers. The situation is just the same in the Osh Pedagogical Institute and the

tekhnikums and schools of Osh Oblast. No attention here is paid to young people who have production experience and service in the USSR Armed Forces under their belts.

"The restructuring and democratization of our lives have given rise to new forms of labor organization, in particular, brigades working on a collective contract. We are conducting work in these collectives, and we think that party groups should be created in them as rapidly as possible. But we unpardonably forget about replenishing the ranks in the party organizations of schools and hospitals," First Secretary of Panfilovskiy Raykom K. Kokoyev self-critically acknowledged. "Meanwhile, they are growing older and disintegrating."

The question of replenishing party ranks with women demands more constant attention. In the economy of the republic, women make up 48.6 percent of the work force, but only 31.2 percent of communists. Particularly few women are accepted into the party in Osh Oblast. This disproportion reduces party influence in light industry, consumer service, trade, public education, and health care.

#### **The Responsibility of Those Making Recommendations**

Reports by individuals making recommendations at party meetings are becoming a norm of life of many party organizations. A search is under way for other forms and methods of increasing the responsibility of communists for making recommendations.

Stricter reprisals against CPSU members for a careless, formal attitude toward making recommendations, and discussion of the question of the responsibility of the individuals making the recommendations during examination of the personal affairs of the candidates have made it possible to uncover serious omissions. In the last half year alone in the republic party organization, 77 candidates were excluded from or withdrew from the party, unable to stand up to checking. But there were 231 recommendations. During all this, only 150 communists were held responsible for giving nonobjective recommendations.

It is necessary to raise the responsibility of gorkoms and raykoms of the Komsomol for the quality of recommendations. Frequently they are made in a formal manner, and no one, as a rule, gets punished for this. There are instances in which acceptance into the party occurs with complete circumvention of the Komsomol organizations. Unbeknownst to the Dzhungalskiy Raykom of the Komsomol, Komsomol members T. Tungarov and B. Kemelov were recommended as CPSU members. Both withdrew as accepted candidates for violation of the CPSU Charter.

The reason for the low responsibility of Komsomol committees for making recommendations, and other omissions in the work to train a reserve for acceptance in the party was explained by First Secretary of Issyk-Kul Obkom of the Komsomol S. Dzhumanov as follows:

"Among the secretaries of Komsomol organizations of the oblast, the party stratum is not sufficiently large. In addition, their frequent turnover is hindered because it is difficult to organize the necessary training."

Certain party organizations do not have a completely correct understanding of the requirement of accepting individuals into the party through the Komsomol. To put it literally, they pick out not cadre workers but little-experienced, insufficiently authoritative, little-active young people with a labor record of 1 or 2 years.

#### **Seasoning for Young Communists**

Strengthening of the party ranks is a continuous creative process. It is necessary to strengthen the ideological seasoning of young party members, check them in concrete work, constantly check their official and social activities, and their moral health, prevent disruptions, and render them comradely support.

"The vanguard role of young communists is manifested most brightly of all among individuals of the same age, and so we consider their work in the Komsomol their first party commission," A. Akisheva, chairman of the Tyan-Shanskiy Raykom Party Commission (Naryn Oblast), said at the seminar. "Twenty-three of our young communists are secretaries of shop Komsomol organizations and brigade leaders of Komsomol-youth collectives."

But there are also incidents of another type. For example, without having thoroughly studied the business and political qualities of candidate CPSU member S. Baynazarov, from Uzgenskiy Rayon, Tash-Kumyr Gorkom recommended him as secretary of the primary Komsomol organization of a specialized department of the State Agroindustrial Committee. Checking up on the fulfillment of his entrusted tasks was not carried out, and he himself had an extremely irresponsible attitude toward them. The Komsomol Gorkom refused to recommend him, and so S. Baynazarov tried to sneak into membership in the CPSU, bypassing the Komsomol organization.

Such incidents do not have to happen. Party assignments should become a substantial checking into the business and ideological-moral qualities of young people.

Many party committees are doing a poor job in attracting veterans of the party, the war, and labor into individual work with the younger generation. Little concern is manifested for improving the work of schools of young communists. In the majority of them, lessons reduce to merely reading lectures which frequently are completely

removed from life. Conversations with young communists show their poor understanding of program documents of the party, and the essence and concrete tasks of acceleration and restructuring.

Gorkoms and raykoms of the party must make a more widespread practice of organizing group and correspondence schools of young communists. It is also necessary for such schools to be created in shepherds' camps, with the help of visiting propagandists, lecturers, and party activists. The tasks standing before us at the modern stage demand a further increase in the level of all organizational-party and ideological work by party organizations. Reports and elections meetings must analyze the work of party organizations to strengthen and improve the qualitative composition of party ranks, enhance the influence of the party on all sections, particularly the lower links, indoctrinate communists, and raise their responsibility for implementing the policies and directives of the party.

Communists must have a high measure of exactingness in approaching the assessment of activities of leadership organs, and their style of work, they must express themselves candidly, as it answers the spirit of the times, and they must be demanding and self-critical. Special emphasis should be laid on analyzing how the key issues of people's lives and labor are being resolved, how the economy and culture are being developed, how organizational and political work among the masses are being conducted, and how the work of party organizations and their own work is being restructured. Only then can we form a battle-ready aktiv, replenish it with fresh forces, and resolve urgent cadre questions.

12255

#### **Poltava Obkom 1st Secretary Views Restructuring Efforts**

18000012b Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Oct 87p 2

Unsigned article under the rubric "PRAVDA Questionnaire: How Is the Restructuring Going?": "A Difficult Conquest"]

[Text] F. Morgun, first secretary of the Poltava Obkom, Ukrainian CP, responds to the questions: **1. What positive experiences have occurred in your party organization since the 27th CPSU Congress? 2. What are the difficulties and problems in this work?**

1. We on the obkom staff understand very well that before you can demand restructuring from others, you have to show it yourself by personal example. And so we started with ourselves. At a session of the buro right after the Congress we held frank and principled discussions of the style and methods of work of each of us. I won't try to hide the fact that serious remarks were directed at

everyone, including myself. We had to do a lot of re-thinking, search for new approaches, and reject the long-outdated stereotypes. And this, you will agree is a difficult matter.

We also took a look at our previous resolutions. How many of them we had adopted on what were at times matters of secondary importance, to the detriment of more important, burning problems! We also had to clarify the obligations of the obkom secretaries. Demands were made more strict on everyone for the sector entrusted to them. It became the practice for obkom secretaries and other members of the oblast committee buro to deliver accounting reports at sessions of the buro. We are making preparations for plenums and buro meetings in a different manner. We are enlisting a number of members of the electoral organs in this work; we are distributing topics for reports ahead of time; and we are taking their opinions and remarks into consideration. Discussion is conducted freely and openly with principled criticism of officials of all ranks. The obkom plenum took place in the same vein, as the tasks of the Poltavites for carrying out the resolutions of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee were discussed.

In what way are things new and different? Previously, the speakers would often appeal to higher organizations—the ministries and departments—and would strive to justify the shortcomings in their work in terms of objective difficulties. But at a recent plenum there was in-depth analysis of their work, as well as specific criticism of those guilty of the shortcomings, and practical suggestions. I will tell you frankly that it fell to our lot as well, the obkom secretaries.

Now we often raise questions at buro sessions which were never before brought up for discussion. For example, not long ago we made a detailed examination of the work of the party organizations in Chutovskiy Rayon on imbuing the agricultural workers with a feeling of ownership and responsibility for the land, and for affairs in their native village.

On another occasion instances of a callous and indifferent attitude on the part of certain party organizations and rural soviets of Grebenkovskiy Rayon toward the needs of war and labor veterans became the subject of serious discussion. Developing forms of brigade and family contracts, setting up young people's housing construction cooperatives in the village, and other social topics have also been placed on the agenda of obkom buro sessions.

Primary party organizations are steadfastly searching for new approaches to their work. It is precisely in their energetic actions that we see a reliable method of overcoming all that is routine, stale, and formal in our work. Presently, certification of party cadres is widespread in the Kremenchug city party organization and in the Gadyachskiy, Karlovskiy and Khorolskiy rayon party

organizations. The raykoms and gorkoms are taking a fresh look at the role, responsibility and maturity of the instructor staff. It is no secret that for a long time they had been selected from among specialists with business experience alone, who had only a vague conception of political work among the masses. We are now striving to tear the instructor away from paperwork and the telephone, and teach him to be an organizer and an active conveyer of party policy in the localities. And to do this we first had to examine the desks of the instructors: the obkom has made a fivefold reduction in the volume of information required of the localities.

Many people have to be retrained, and we do not grudge the time spent on this. For the raykom and obkom staffs we are trying to choose people who are young, but work experience in primary party organizations is a must. Many such instructors have risen to become first secretaries of party raykoms.

The fortune of I. Borovenskiy is a typical one. He was a rural mechanization specialist and a brigade leader. Then he enrolled in a correspondence course at the institute. He proved himself a capable secretary of the kolkhoz party committee, and was a raykom department head. And after a relatively short "breaking-in" period on the staff of the party obkom, he was chosen first secretary of the Reshetilovskiy party raykom. Ivan Grigoryevich knows the problems and needs of the village and he didn't learn them from a book, but from life. He has succeeded in harnessing the energy of the raykom workers in solving the principal political and social problems. In only three years the villages of a rayon that was economically weak and sparsely populated have been literally built anew. And the villagers have begun to return to their native areas.

We are also carefully studying and disseminating the experience of the Lubny city party committee, headed by A. Sobolev, an experienced, thoughtful party worker. Immediately after the 27th Party Congress the gorkom took up a course for expanding glasnost. During preparation for the next plenum, a questionnaire was distributed to all communists in the rayon, with an invitation to speak out openly on its subject matter. The gorkom received more than 500 responses from rank-and-file party members, which helped them to conduct the plenum in an entirely new manner—crisply and in a principled manner, defining the near-term tasks and the tasks for the future with precision.

I believe that along with advancing the young people, there is in a number of situations merit in transferring administrators laterally as well.

One may say that the success of the rural workers of the oblast this year with its far from perfect weather conditions were the first important economic results of the restructuring. The farmers raised and harvested 37.7 centners of early grain crops and 43.8 centners of winter wheat per hectare. The fields of Poltava have never

before known such achievements. New technology has also had an effect, under which the fields have been cultivated for more than a decade already without the use of the plow. But the new forms of labor organization and wages have proven themselves most of all: cost accounting and the brigade and family contract. Genuine party concern for the tillers of the soil, and raising the prestige of the farmers, has contributed much as well. Thanks to this concern and to the farmers, the Poltavites are now selling grain, meat and other products of the fields and farms to the state greatly in excess of the plan.

2. As far as the second question is concerned, I won't try to cover up—there are still more than enough difficulties and problems. In our time we ourselves either created them or prepared the ground for them. Primarily I have in mind the overly cumbersome and overly-bureaucratized apparat at the party, soviet and economic organs. Everything superfluous; everything that is far-fetched; all of the accumulations in the system that have outlived their time—be they in the obkom, in the oblispolkom, or in any of its subdivisions—must be decisively eliminated. That is my personal conviction, and that is the opinion of the majority of the communists with whom I have been able to speak in confidence.

The question of improving the structure of the apparat of the party committees is on the agenda. I believe that industrial branch departments are not needed in the oblast committee. Moreover, the ideological and economic departments should be strengthened radically. This will permit eliminating a departmental approach to matters and concentrating primary attention on political work among the masses, and on party leadership of economic and social questions as a complex.

Further thought should also be given to reducing still further the burden on the party apparat of preparing materials for accounting reports and conferences. The raykom holds plenums every three months, and its apparat is occupied literally all the time in preparations for them. Little time remains for practical assistance to primary organizations. To a certain extent this pertains to the party obkoms as well. I propose that the prescribed norms be re-examined here. Perhaps the plenums in the localities should be held at the same intervals as the CPSU Central Committee plenums. I don't think democracy would suffer from this, if the proper procedural guarantees were worked out. And the officials on the apparat would have greater opportunities for active political work in the labor collectives.

A good deal of the activities of the soviet organs originates in an office and is alien to real life. At party obkom plenums and at sessions of the oblast soviet it has been necessary to speak again and again of the low level of activity of the most popular link in the state organs—the rural and settlement soviets. There are a number of reasons for this. I'll speak about one of them: of the greatly over-regulation of their work. It is well-known that there are quite a few staff workers there, and they do

not need any more. And as far as the forms and methods of their activities are concerned, they are essentially the same as those of the higher soviet authorities. There is just about the same number of commissions; and once there are commissions, then there must be plans, meetings, protocols, resolutions, and so on.

And just look at the results: the deputies are so busy holding meetings and writing documents that they have no time to drop in on private home builders or visit war veterans at home. What's more, those elected to the rural soviet are primarily ordinary workers who are more at home with everyday life than with paperwork. Let them get down to business!

The question of the number of documents is still a sore spot. It is clear that today's paperwork volume stems from the restructuring and the desire to quickly clear up the logjams which have piled up and to overcome inertia. But there are so many decisions to make that this in and of itself reduces their effects. I think that many of the decisions taken by the central authorities need not necessarily be duplicated by republic and oblast authorities.

In conclusion let me say that we are still at the beginning stage of the restructuring. A vast amount of work lies ahead. New problems will inevitably arrive in the place of others. This is a difficult process. But at present it is very important that we all take the true and reliable paths, so that it will be easier for those who follow.

9006

#### **Gomel Obkom Chief on Changes in Local Cadre Policy**

*18000019 Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 18, Sep 87 (signed to press 8 Sep 87) pp 30-35*

[Article by A. Kamay, first secretary of the Gomel Obkom of the Belorussian Communist Party: "In the Conditions of the Expansion of Democracy and Glasnost"]

[Text] A few months ago, the question about the chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Lenin of Mozyrskiy Rayon came up. When this was considered, two candidacies were proposed to the collective. During the discussion, even a third one was advanced. Each one of them had his "for" and "against". But the preference was given to Anatoliy Kuzmich Dolgiy, who had worked as secretary of the party organization of the same farm. Taking council with people allowed him to better understand their aspirations, their healthy dissatisfaction with what had been achieved, and to acquire the traits and style of an economic manager. As a rule, Anatoliy Kuzmich begins his working day with meetings at the place of production. Now they have acquired greater concreteness and thoroughness. There is discussion at all of them

and ways of eliminating difficulties and shortcomings are determined jointly with the personal responsibility of everyone for the sector of work entrusted to him.

The former administrative style of management is disappearing in this farm, and in place of it also the indifference and inertia of the kolkhoz workers, and greater confidence and purposefulness of people in the improvement of the state of affairs. There is nothing to be surprised at here. Mutual exactingness and respect are growing and new conditions of management are being introduced. The social sphere has begun to be developed more actively, which, of course, could not help but affect the results. But the main thing—an atmosphere of general responsibility for the affairs of the collective and fate of the country is being becoming firmly established, the aspiration to live and work shoulder to shoulder, to produce the highest efficiency.

The renewal of cadre policy has been advanced by the party as a paramount task. Today you have a still more acute understanding of the fact that the implementation of what has been projected and the sharp turn toward the acceleration of socio-economic development and toward the elimination of everything that interferes with moving forward are impossible without the activation of the human factor in every conceivable manner and the further intensification and expansion of socialist democracy. This is the lever which makes it possible to include the decisive force in the restructuring—the Soviet people.

Begin with oneself. This is how it always was when the party placed new tasks before the country that emanated from real life. "The whole crux of the matter," V. I. Lenin said in 1922 at the closing of the 11th Party Congress, "for the vanguard not to be afraid to work on itself, to acknowledge openly its inadequate preparedness, its inadequate ability."

Now time has opened up new possibilities before each one of us, and how fruitfully they will be realized depends to a significant degree on whether we are able to overcome our own inertia and to renounce the adherence to the old and the stereotypes in our approaches and thinking.

We have thoroughly examined the forms and methods of our work. New regulations have been adopted. We are approaching the formation of the agendas of sessions of the buro and the secretariat with more exactingness and there has been a reduction in the number of questions submitted for their examination. There has been a reduction of the flow of paper. The practice of the implementation of oblast measures has been straightened out. And this, in its turn, has given the workers of the party obkom apparatus the opportunity to be more frequently in the party committees and organizations and labor collectives. We are making efforts to see to it that the length of one business trip of an instructor is no less than 3-4 days

and that on the whole more than half of the working time of the apparatuses of the party committees turns out to be in the primary party organizations.

The expansion of glasnost, the increase of the responsibility of the leading cadres for the business entrusted to them, and the intensification of the control over the execution of decisions have become important directions of the activity of the obkom buro and secretariat. After the 27th CPSU Congress, many managers of the oblast services rendered an account of their personal work with respect to the fulfillment of the tasks before the oblast party organization at the obkom buro. Effective are talks at the obkom buro with the first secretaries of party committees, the ispolkom chairmen of the local Soviets, the managers of the agroindustrial associations, and the other departments on which they had a claim.

Conducting such a talk with the first secretary of the Braginskiy Party Raykom, G. Pankov, and with the chairman of the rayispolkom, A. Prokopov, for example, the members of the buro addressed important observations to them. The talk centered around the fact that the party committee and the rayispolkom are not achieving cardinal advances, are slow to change the thinking and the style of work of the cadres, and have not been able to realize the conditions and possibilities existing in the rayon for the acceleration of the increase of the volumes of agricultural production. They drew correct conclusions. There has been an increase in the systematic character, the concreteness, and the objectivity in the activity of the raykom and rayispolkom. In the content, forms and methods of party work, the accent is put on the broad development of the initiative of the communists, all toilers, and the increase of the responsibility of everyone for the achievement of final results.

Interviews with communists and managers have also become firmly established in the work of party gorkoms and raykoms. During their conduct the level of organizational and training work is being comprehensively organized.

Practice has convinced us also of the expediency of the confirmation, in the party committees, of the references of the managers who have been working for a long time. The objective reflection, in them, of positive and negative qualities of the person, his attitude toward functional obligations and public work, and the special character features help the worker to critically assess his own activity in good time, to draw the necessary conclusions, and to save himself from possible mistakes.

There is one aspect which we consider obligatory: We are looking to see how the manager is assimilating democratic forms and methods of work. This produces results. The search for ways of improving the style and methods of party leadership at the local level in this direction has become evident.

The renunciation of speechifying and a decisive turn to people and to brisk business are becoming determining in the activity of the Sovetskiy Party Raykom of the city of Gomel. In many respects, it is precisely this which made it possible for the rayon to be victorious in socialist competition in terms of the results of the past year, as well as to conduct its affairs with confidence during the current year as well. In this party committee, it is becoming the rule to analyze the results of the work of labor collectives not in their offices, but directly at the local level, with the obligatory participation of the secretaries and the members of the raykom buro.

The instructors of the Sovetskiy Raykom spend the basic part of their working time in the primary organizations. All of this has a positive effect on the quality of the control over the fulfillment of the decisions being taken. As a rule, the worker of the apparatus at the local level studies the real situation, helps to adjust the practical work, and comprehensively analyzes what has changed in the course of the realization of the appropriate decree. It is important that he now works in the party organizations in general, but with concrete communists and toilers not affiliated with the party, that he has the possibility of penetrating more deeply into the questions of consumer services, other questions of everyday life, and to exert a more active influence on the moral atmosphere.

And this is a correct approach, which the obkom is trying to disseminate everywhere. We may as well confess: Not everywhere have a lively relationship with people and support on the opinion of labor collectives been considered paramount even in the review of cadre questions. At times they have judged a communist incompletely and one-sidedly in the party committee and organization. Let us say, depending on whether the yields on the farm headed by him are high or low and whether his questionnaire data are good. Attention to the moral character and inner world of the party member became acute basically only in connection with a crime that he committed. Frequently this was turned into serious costs.

The dynamism of the restructuring now in process depends in many respects on the executives of the rayons, cities, and labor collectives. Unfortunately, even now some of them orient themselves after the old way on obsolete approaches, do not trouble themselves with a critical analysis, content themselves with small improvements, and do not compare what has been attained with the potential possibilities. It is precisely for this that the party obkom has seriously criticized the style and methods of the leadership of the Kormyanskiy Rakom (first secretary V. Vorozhbitov), the Oktyabrskiy Raykom (first secretary N. Sudas), and the Kalinkovichskiy Party Gorkom (first secretary B. Batura). As the real affairs indicate, changes for the better are noticeable in the first two rayons. At the same time, the Kalinkovichskiy Party Gorkom, as well as the corresponding Soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations up to now have not advanced to the level of work that is being required.

People judge about a leader on the basis of his ability to decide practical questions and to move the collective entrusted to him forward. It is precisely from this that the party obkom proceeds in determining the pivotal line of work with leading cadres: If there are no changes in your collective, if you are not done in time, this means that a mistake was made in promotion. Could, for example, the chairman of the Kalinkovichskiy Soviet of the Rayon Agroindustrial Association, V. Tikhonovskiy, effectively carry through restructuring of the agroindustrial committee if he proved to be incompetent, even internally not prepared for this, if he did not perceive the real ways of improving the situation in agricultural production, manifested a lack of exactingness toward the farm managers and specialists, and frequently occupied a conciliatory position? The executive was relieved from the post he occupied and sent to a sector he can handle. However, valuable time was lost, and here the Kalinkovichskiy Party Gorkom and the party obkom are directly guilty. We are working to see to it that the expenses for cadre work are kept as low as possible, we are striving to act more competently in this key sector, and to strictly follow the Leninist demand: "To study and to search for skillful workers."

The primary and shop party organizations and party groups are a basic link in the struggle for restructuring. The main thing here is to raise the level and content of their work, to change it onto the plane of greater concreteness and efficiency, and to attach glasnost and democratism to the forms and methods of party leadership. In a number of "standard" labor collectives new approaches are being approved, models of activity in the conditions of full economic accountability, self-financing, and self-repayment are being perfected, and the training of cadres is being conducted. Many party organizations are now acting with more confidence, competence, and expediency, they are exerting more effective influence on the state of affairs in the economy, and are fighting more resolutely against passivity and inertness of communists.

However, not everything is going smoothly. For a significant number of party organizations, present-day requirements still have not become the norm of life. Seriously troubling is the circumstance that the lower party links do not always guarantee the necessary quality improvements in the work of their collectives. In some of them, the internal party work has been weakend, urgent problems are viewed in a superficial manner, and a situation of indifference and complacency reigns.

In a number of primary party organizations a situation of exactingness and strictness has not been created. This is indicated by the following fact: During the past year, party committee buros repealed the decisions of primary party organizations in 511 personnel cases as liberal, including 238 persons who were excluded from the membership of the CPSU.

The problem of increasing the activeness and liveliness of the party organizations has been discussed at plenums of party obkom, gorkom and raykom plenums, and at meetings of communists. In the shop party organizations and party groups, meetings have been conducted with the agenda: "Communist—your place in the restructuring." It is noteworthy that communists in their majority conducted the discussion concretely and in a business-like manner. Quite a number of valuable proposals were introduced that were aimed at seeing to it that every primary organization manifests itself as the political nucleus of the labor collective.

Instructive on this plane is the activity of the primary party organization of the Gornel Plant for Machine Tool Parts. As the long-term task for the current five-year-plan, the task was set—to fully renew the products being turned out, including through the mastery of machine tools of a new generation—turning processing centers. In connection with this, party control has been strengthened in the most important production sectors, and much has been done for the more rational placement of communists. Party groups have been created in every shop, in the sector, the brigades, and the leading engineering services. A total of 26. Party control over the course of the certification of engineering and technical workers and working places has been adjusted everywhere and exacting and comprehensive appraisals of parts of the "Intensifikatsiya" Program are being undertaken, of the plans of new technology, and the measures for technical reequipment of production. Together with other measures, this has produced positive results. Already today, all of the production is being put out with the Emblem of Quality. The role of the primary party organizations in the selection and promotion of leading cadres is growing. Previously these questions were frequently solved secretly. In the collective, they sometimes found out about their new manager an hour before his appointment. By far not always has the promotion of a man been justified by his political, moral and business qualities. From time to time the mechanism of the right kind of biography came into play, and of personal acquaintance and friendly relations. For this reason costs in cadre policy became possible when among the managers there proved to be openly weak ones, as well as unscrupulous people. The development of democratic principles in cadre work will help us avoid this.

In a number of labor collectives of the oblast a certain experience has been accumulated in this direction, and we are striving to make it the achievement of all. For example, at the Svetlogorsk Khimvolokno imeni 60-letie Velikogo Oktyabrya Production Association, people previously oriented themselves in the promotion to a position, above all, on the decisions of the certification commissions, which took into account basically the degree of occupational and engineering training, but not the opinion of people about the specialist. As a result, some managers in time, as it were, lost contact with the collective and embarked on the road of administration by mere injunction. At the beginning of the past year, the

party committee decided to go over to the introduction of appointment by election of the managers in the collectives. It must be said, only the heads of 2 shops out of 31 were eager to test this proposal as an experiment, the remaining ones were categorically opposed.

However, time has shown that, when three to four candidacies for this or that post are proposed to the collective for discussion, when an open and at times unprejudiced discussion is held around each one of them, then cadre mistakes happen significantly less frequently. The post is entrusted to the person who deserves it more. Now a procedure for electing the managers has been established in the association: Beginning in August of the past year, all appointments are effected only with the consent of the labor collectives.

Many party organizations are already acting in an analogous manner. Not waiting for instructions and recommendations, they are boldly proceeding to search for the new and to transform unaccustomed solutions into practice. A number of candidacies have been advanced during the election of brigade leaders at the Khoyniki Plant for Reinforced Concrete Products and the chairman of the Sovetskaya Rossiya Kolkhoz of Narovlyanskiy Rayon. This is how all 79 brigade leaders of the production brigades and more than 50 shop and sector foremen and skilled craftsmen were elected to their posts at the Mozyr Oil Refinery. Now about 2,000 managers and more than 500 of different rank in the oblast have received a mandate of confidence of the labor collective on a competitive basis. We are transferring that approach to the party organs. In the election of the first secretary of the Loyevskiy Party Raykom, two candidacies were advanced—of the second secretary of this raykom, A. Kazachk, and the chairman of the rayispolkom, N. Laptev. The course of the discussion of these candidacies itself and the results of the voting showed the high maturity of the participants of the party raykom plenum and their profound responsibility in the improvement of the state of affairs. It was especially underscored that the results of the elections must not change the respectful attitude and trust toward the communists who were not elected to the post of first secretary. This is very important since the selection was made from two worthy candidates.

Of course, this is not a simple matter. You see, it is not only necessary to overcome the old approaches. What is required is to combine tactfulness and exactingness, democratism and the interests of the business. It is necessary to know whom to promote, for what merits and virtues, and to sense the atmosphere of the discussion. For this reason, the party committees are conducting energetic public work with the reserve so that during the time of the elections there is always a quality supply of cadres on "the reserve bench."

It is important, we believe, for the acting manager to be really concerned about his shift, to prepare it. In connection with this, I would like to cite the following example.

The general manager of the Gomeldrev Association, the communist I. Gureyev, who had successfully managed the collective, after reaching retirement age, asked to be transferred to ordinary work. In the collective it was decided to hold elections for a manager. Candidacies for the vacated post were proposed from the side. Igor Fedorovich recommended Valeriy Petrovich Antonov, the production supervisor who had been trained by him, and obligated himself to help him in the solution of the production questions where he is rather bad for the time being. The satisfaction was apparent not only on the face of the former general manager, but also on the faces of all those present when the person chairing the meeting announced the communication from the counting commission: The overwhelming majority voted for V. Antonov.

In all of these steps the aspiration to deepen the restructuring is evident, the desire to confirm the policy of democratization through practice. But here it is necessary to see the other side as well. There are cases where attempts are made to compel exacting and energetic managers to deviate from their principles of work, to wrest from them various sorts of concessions and indulgences. In these conditions a strengthening of all forms of training is required, and especially of the individual work with people, it is important not to permit attempts to elect "convenient" and undemanding managers. The time insistently dictates the introduction of new approaches into the practice of dismissing workers from the position held by them as well. Here it is also necessary to remove the veil of secrecy and to effect everything openly and in public. Toward this we are directly aiming the primary party organizations, the cadres, and the broad public.

We must make serious reassessments in questions of criticism and self-criticism. By far not everywhere has a situation of open, business-like and pointed discussion of shortcomings been created, not always are fundamental assessments made of those who do not react to criticism and permit abuses. We have taken a firm line aimed at the resolute correction of the deformed mechanism of kolkhoz democracy. You see, it is no secret that the meetings of the kolkhoz farmers are frequently still conducted for the sake of form, few problems are discussed at them that are related to the strengthening of the economy of the farm, labor and public discipline, and the arrangement of the village. For this reason, we are orienting the party organizations energetically to overcome these and other shortcomings, we are orienting them to create for the kolkhoz farmers all the conditions for the broad and comradely discussion of the most burning and painful questions and for active participation in their solution.

In the conditions of the activization of the human factor, special demands are made on the secretary of the party organization. It is precisely to him, above all, that the words "to reach everyone" refer. But, unfortunately, still widespread is the type of secretary who, as they say,

hides behind the back of the manager, acts at his bidding and does not stop obvious violations. Thus, the lack, on the part of the party committee of the Stolbunskiy Sovkhoz of Vetkovskiy Rayon and its former secretary, F. Kozlov, of the requisite exactingness toward cadres and the unscrupulousness in the assessment of their actions led to cases of mismanagement, deception, and abuses by a number of leading persons of this farm. And they were exposed, unfortunately, not on the initiative of the party organization, but as the result of the verification of letters of workers addressed to higher party organs.

The party obkom today strives to see to it that those communists work as secretaries of the party buros and the party committees who can act without "looking back" to the farm and enterprise managers, who do not evade the principled formulation of questions, manifest independence, and do not act, as still frequently happens, in the role of one of the deputies of the economic manager.

Glasnost is an indispensable condition for the development of democracy. Today we are openly calling things by their names: Successes are successes, shortcomings are shortcomings, and mistakes are mistakes. The democratization of life again poses the question of the control over the work of the party, Soviet and economic organs, including the control "from below." Its development is promoted by the fact that the leading workers of the party, Soviet and economic organs actively participate in the conduct of days of the open letter, in roundtable meetings, and in workers' meetings.

We are paying special attention to the expansion of glasnost in the labor collectives. You see, any gap in truthful information is filled with rumors, which most often turn into moral costs. In a number of enterprises of the cities of Gomel, Mozyr, and Svetlogorsk, in Khoynikskiy and other rayons, glasnost services, equipped with so-called "confidence telephones" have been created. Thanks to this, every toiler has more possibilities to put any questions before the appropriate organs and to receive an answer.

It is our aspiration to expand glasnost still more in the determination of the victors of competition, the distribution of bonuses, apartments, travel authorizations to holiday homes and sanatoria. Idlers and drunkards, bureaucrats and grabbers are being severely condemned by the public.

At the same time, we are cultivating in people the understanding of the fact that glasnost does not signify freedom of action for demagogues, slanderers, and writers of libellous anonymous letters, that there must not be a place for various fabrications and rumors, half-truth and insincerity in our life, and that glasnost is called upon to serve the further improvement of the social climate and to help us to get rid of that which is hindering the movement forward.

The development of democracy presupposes the realization, by everyone, of his patriotic duty and personal responsibility not only for the fulfillment of his direct obligations, but also for the affairs of the collective and the entire country, of which he is a master with equal rights. The party obkom emphasizes the necessity of concentrating attention on the cultivation of these noble qualities in people.

We must openly acknowledge that still not all of our ideological cadres institutions and services have properly joined in the process of acceleration, restructuring and democratization; on the local level, they are up to now slow in giving up mass assessments in training. Some managers of the oblast and rayon link give preference to purely economic questions, moral problems are postponed, and they are in no hurry to acquire a taste for lively educational work, which requires the ability to understand the inner world of people and to see in good time their positive qualities, not infringing on human dignity, and to help them to escape from delusions. Up to now the inertia of the thinking of a number of leading workers and party activists does not permit the full development of the ideological potential of the party organizations, to raise the creative activeness of the masses, and has a negative effect on the work in the conditions of deepening democracy. Thus, there are few noticeable changes in the style of activity of the Zheleznodorozhnyy Party Raykom of the city of Gomel. The Buro and the raykom secretaries, on the one hand, see the accumulated problems, but, on the other, have been unable up to now to secure the mobilization of all the party organizations for intensive work and to attain tangible changes in socio-economic questions and in the spiritual sphere.

In improving organizational and training work in the conditions of the further development of democracy, we are directing the efforts of the cadres and collectives toward the attainment of new limits and the overcoming of unresolved problems. And, let us say, there are quite a few of them in the economy. And although the toilers of the oblast fulfilled the plans of the past year and secured the task of the first 6 months of the current year, we believe that the restructuring is not going as one would like.

To learn themselves to work in the new work and to teach others to act in the conditions of the expansion of democracy is the paramount task of communists. The 12th Five-Year-Plan is gathering strength and is gaining scope. The main thing now is not to lose time and to complete its second year successfully. It is precisely from this that the party obkom is proceeding in the improvement of the style and methods of leadership, in the assessment of the results of how the restructuring is going and how deeply its ideas are perceived and realized in the masses.

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**Vayno Speaks at October Revolution Celebration**  
*18000064 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 7 Nov 87 pp 1-3*

[Speech by K. Vayno, first secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, at the meeting of the Estonian CP Central Committee and ESSR Supreme Soviet on 6 November 1987: "Great October—Our Past, Present and Future: Triumphant Meeting of the Estonian CP Central Committee and ESSR Supreme Soviet Dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution"]

[Excerpts] On 6 November, on the eve of the celebration of October, deputies of the ESSR Supreme Soviet, veterans of revolutionary events, the civil and Great Patriotic Wars and labor, advanced workers and innovators in production, and representatives of the public of the republic met in the Palace of Culture and Sports imeni V.I. Lenin in Tallinn. Also present were guests, including delegations from Solnok Oblast in Bulgaria and Schwerin District in the GDR.

A. Ryuytel, member of the Estonian CP Central Committee Buro and chairman of the ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, opened the solemn meeting of the Estonian CP Central Committee and ESSR Supreme Soviet dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October.

The hymns of the USSR and Estonian SSR resound. The banner of the Order of Lenin and Order of Friendship of the peoples of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic and the banners of revolutionary, battle and labor glory are brought into the hall accompanied by the sound of a solemn march.

The floor for a report is given to Comrade K. Vayno.

The first socialist state in the world has been alive for seven decades, he said, and the planet is following with unabated attention each step of the Country of Soviets on the way to the establishment of a new society. This path had everything—tremendous difficulties and great victories. That giant power of the country that today allows us to feel ourselves mighty and invulnerable and permits the pursuing of a grandiose perestroyka was created during seven decades. The course of revolutionary reforms set in April 1985 and obtaining program development at the 27th CPSU Congress was a direct continuation of the work of the Great October. The report of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M.S. Gorbachev at the solemn meeting of the congresses in the Kremlin Palace on 2 November clearly and vividly told of this revolutionary continuity over time.

Leninist depth of thinking and manner of action and Bolshevik boldness and persistence in the preparation and implementation of decisions are what unite today's activities of the CP with the work of the revolutionaries in 1917.

In October 1917, Estonian Bolsheviks honorably fulfilled the historical task entrusted to them by V.I. Lenin. In accordance with Lenin's plan, the revolutionary forces of Estonia had by the evening of 23 October already taken control of all of the most important strategic points in Tallinn. Not a single counterrevolutionary military unit was able to come from Estonia to the aid of the Provisional Government in its death throes.

The transfer of power to the soviets in Estonia took place quickly, Comrade Vayno stressed, without significant armed clashes. This was explained by the fact that by this time the Bolsheviks were able to achieve a majority in the soviets, the party of Bolsheviks became the most important political party in Estonia, and the overwhelming majority of the Estonia people supported soviet authority, as indicated by the democratic elections for the soviets in 1917 and the all-Estonian congresses of peasants, teachers, soldiers and other social strata. This is why no internal force was in a position to overthrow the authority of the soviets on Estonian soil. This authority became a reality primarily because the working class movement developed in Estonia as an integral part of the Russian revolutionary process and because from the very beginning the social democratic organizations of Estonia were militant groups of the party of a new type founded by V.I. Lenin.

Today it is with great respect and gratitude that we remember the names of Yaan Anvelt, Viktor Kingisepp, Ivan Rabchinskiy, Hans Pegelman, Nikolay Yanson, Yaan Sikhver, Johannes Kyaspart, Rudolf Vakman, Otto Ryastas and many other standardbearers of October in Estonia.

The socialist reforms that began with the victory of the revolution were soon interrupted by the invasion of German forces. The local bourgeoisie hurried to take advantage of this. No, it did not call for struggle against the occupiers but humbly asked them to help them grab political and economic power. The group of political hacks, whom no one had elected or empowered, did not have a territory free from the boots of the occupiers, nor an army nor, more importantly, the support of the people. The so-called "independent" Estonia could arise only on foreign bayonets and with the active support of the rulers of the Western imperialist powers frightened to death by our revolution.

Today if someone tries to ignore this and to link the start of Estonian state order with February 1918, then he either does not know history or is consciously distorting it. The Estonian working people were active participants in the October Revolution and the Estland Labor Commune—a truly free republic on land liberated from the

enemy—was precisely their creation. And if the Estonian red regiments had not been far away and Soviet Russia had not been gripped by the fire of war, then the counterrevolution would not have been able to overcome the Commune.

Today it is with the most profound respect that we pay tribute to the thousands and thousands of warriors for the cause of the revolution who were not broken by the years of bourgeois dictatorship. The uprising of the working people of Saaremaa and the armed revolt of the Estonian proletariat on 1 December 1924 were drowned in blood. Viktor Kingisepp, Yaan Kreuks, Hans Heide-man, Yaan Tomp, Aleksandr Leiner and many other fervent revolutionaries were shoot to death or treacherously killed. But the lofty ideals of the revolution could not be killed through bullets, noisy political trials, prisons or hard labor.

The restoration of Soviet authority in Estonia in 1940 was the natural result of almost half a century of struggle of the Estonian proletariat, which, together with poor peasants, fishermen, artisans and the progressively oriented intelligentsia, not only comprised the majority of the population but also the social base of the revolution.

Just as in Latvia and Lithuania, the socialist revolution in Estonia was the first in history carried out peacefully. It was the fulfillment of the ingenious prediction made by V.I. Lenin back in 1916 "that in individual cases, by way of exception, in some small state, for example, after a larger neighboring state has already accomplished a social revolution, the peaceful cession of power by the bourgeoisie is possible if it becomes convinced of the hopelessness of resistance...."

The peaceful revolution, however, resolved the same main tasks as any proletarian revolution. The exploiting classes were deprived of their political supremacy and the basis of their economic power was destroyed. And this is the most profound revolutionary meaning of what took place in Estonia in the summer of 1940.

Today it is with profound respect and gratitude that we pay tribute to those who went ahead at a critical time in our history, expressing the will and the fundamental interests of the working people. They include Johannes Lauristin, Herman Arbon, Johannes Vares, Arnold Veymer, Teodor Ott, Peeter Petree, Oskar Sepre and many other comrades.

Western falsifiers, K. Vayno went on to say, are trying despite the obvious to present the events of 1940 as the result of some kind of backstage plot between the USSR and Hitler's Germany, almost as the takeover of the Baltic region by Soviet forces. These fables can be meant only for credulous Philistines. In the complex situation of that period, the signing of the Soviet-German treaty was a reasonable step by the Soviet Union permitting it

to avoid war on two fronts. Naturally, it could not be a matter of the USSR's involvement in Hitler's delirious plans to redivide the world. This is a lie, a dirty and malevolent falsehood.

When the Great Patriotic War began and the German fascist forces seized the territory of our republic, the bourgeoisie, now encouraged, sought open cooperation with the occupiers. At that time, when Estonian communists and many thousands of nonparty workers, peasants and intellectuals took up arms and followed the call of their hearts and defended their homeland and their Soviet authority, the bourgeoisie and its henchmen shot to death or hung the Soviet activists and members of their families remaining there, not sparing either women or children. They were not at all bothered by the fact that under the infamous "Ost" plan the Hitlerites intended, after having destroyed half of the local population, to annex Estonia as a Germanized country. The barbaric plan did not come about but we must never forget that 125,000 lives were lost on Estonian soil during that time. They were the innocent victims of fascism and of the shameful treachery of the bourgeoisie against their own people.

We are proud of the fact that Estonian warriors in the ranks of our valiant army also contributed to the crushing defeat of the hated enemy. There are many common graves near Velikiye Luki and Nevel, on the Saaremaa and in Kurlyandiya, where Russians, Ukrainians, Estonians and the sons of many other peoples—the soldiers of one army—are sleeping an eternal sleep. Our friendship is sealed with their sacred blood.

Today we bow our heads before the memory of those who did not return from the great war defending the freedom of the socialist Motherland. We express our tremendous and universal thanks to all war veterans for their unparalleled feat.

The war left horrible marks on our land. The people of the older generation remember this well but they also remember the enthusiasm with which the wounds of the war were healed, the tremendous unselfish help that Estonia then received from the union government and from the other republics. We cannot forget how a food train arrived in Tallinn from Leningrad just 8 days after the liberation, a gift from a city that itself had just recently broken through the ring of the blockade and was in acute need of everything. The working people of Soviet Estonia responded with self-sacrificing labor. As early as 1946, industrial production exceeded the prewar level.

The republic returned to normal life. But they tried to hinder it. Former officers and soldiers of the Estonian SS legion and sons of the Kulaks formed armed bands. They robbed the people, killed activists and new-land peasants, started rumors and terrorized entire volosts. People

tired of war and desiring to work in peace and build a new life justifiably demanded decisive measures against the bandits and those supporting them.

But the measures that followed did not entirely correspond to the norms of socialist legality. That was a complex and regrettably still poorly studied and illuminated period. The republic's historians need to analyze carefully the questions of the class struggle in that time and reconstruct the truth. Only it is necessary from the very beginning to make a clear-cut distinction between what is the result of a violation of legality and what flowed from the objective conditions of the class struggle. We will never consider the rightly punished servants of Hitler, bandits and true enemies of Soviet authority to be innocent victims.

Comrade Vayno then dwelled on the successes with which the republic is celebrating the anniversary of the Great October and on the tasks and problems that must be resolved in the course of the restructuring of the economy and social sphere. He noted that despite all the complications and outlays on the difficult path, our republic is celebrating the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution full of creative force and with a diversified economy and a great spiritual potential. The volume of industrial production has increased by a factor of 58 during the years of Soviet authority and agriculture yields twice the output, despite the fact that only one-third as many people are employed there. The educational and cultural level of the people is incomparably higher and science has made great strides forward. The cities and villages have changed beyond recognition and have become more beautiful.

While in Tallinn, M.S. Gorbachev said at a meeting with the party economic aktiv of the ESSR: "Estonia today is an up-to-date society, a society with a developed economy and developed culture, science and education. Here you encounter people sure of their own strengths and possessing advanced knowledge...."

During these solemn days, we want to express of deepest gratitude to those who have put their spirit, intellect and labor into the formation of our socialist republic—to white-haired veterans of revolution, war and the labor front, to advanced workers and innovators in production, and to all those who are continuing the work of the older generations, increasing the labor glory of Soviet Estonia.

What has been done is a good basis for movement forward and for resolving large-scale and complex tasks. Today we openly speak of contradictions and of our own shortcomings, unfinished work and mistakes committed in different stages. The rate of economic growth declined noticeably in the republic in the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's and disproportions arose in the development

of the social area. Construction capacities are inadequate and much output is still of low quality. Extensive methods of development have not been completely eradicated.

We cannot orient ourselves toward the evolutionary type of scientific-technical progress. It is necessary to rely on such directions in the development of engineering and technology that are capable of multiplying labor productivity many times over. For the ESSR as well as for the entire country, the practical assimilation of cost accounting, self-support and self-financing and a fundamental restructuring of the management of the economy are becoming especially urgent. This work is not starting from scratch: quite good experience has been gained in economic experimentation.

Not everything, of course, is turning out as it should. There is too little decisiveness and a strong habit of living in the old way, to come to an agreement and to ask for permission where it is necessary to take action and responsibility. Good ideas sometimes still get bogged down in the bureaucratic machinery. Nevertheless, the first results of perestroika are already perceptible in the form of the largest increases in national income in recent years and for the first time an increase in the return on investment has been achieved in industry and agriculture. The performance of contractual obligations by industry has improved, builders and transport workers have done more work, and the plans for the sale of meat and milk to the state are being fulfilled.

But something else is seen today: the established potential can be utilized better and our contribution to the international division of labor can and must be more substantial, especially in the form of consumer goods and up-to-date equipment. It is necessary in a very short time to make the structure of the management of the national economy correspond to the new economic mechanism and to undermine the very basis of the bureaucracy that is curbing our development.

People justifiably judge perestroika according to its material characteristics, its real satisfaction of personal and social interests. A prime problem for us is that of housing. A specific comprehensive program has been worked out in the republic for resolving this problem. It specifies ways to fulfill a most important social task, that of providing every family with a separate comfortable apartment or individual house by the year 2000.

It is necessary for us to raise the social output of the economy substantially. And the needs of the population of the republic for different kinds of services are now far from being fully satisfied. It is necessary to be resolute in pulling up these areas. This is our common task.

Specific measures are also being taken in resolving other vitally important problems, particularly the food problem and the improvement of medical services and environmental preservation.

After the April (1985) of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the party took the decisive course of extending and developing democracy. This is the core of perestroika and the guarantee of its irreversibility. But we are realizing more and more profoundly the necessity of learning to live under the conditions of democracy.

All social practice since October [1917] has shown convincingly that to build a new society it is vitally necessary to strengthen the leading role of the party. The dual task facing each party organization and the party as a whole today is to be in charge of perestroika and to reorganize themselves.

Today the formation of the social climate in the country and here in the republic is taking place under the decisive influence of glasnost, extensive criticism and self-criticism. And overall this is a positive process. But one must not permit the cloudy foam of social demagoguery to form on the wave of the increasing democratic spirit. Unfortunately, this sometimes happens here. We are reevaluating much in the spirit of the current renewal of social development but are we always prepared to recognize those false democrats who under the guise of reevaluation are attempting to impose on us a devaluation of all of our socialist values? Thus, the question of phosphorites has already been settled until at least the year 2000 but passions are still heating up. It seems that for some it is not so much the resolution of this problem that is important but what is taking place around it.

The party, K. Vayno emphasized, is not afraid of criticism. Moreover, it has to a considerable extent taken the fire of criticism on itself. Party and state authorities and primary party organizations must study the living reality in more depth and sense its sore points. It is necessary for them to think along with the people and jointly seek to resolve all complex questions.

Many practical steps have been taken recently with regard to the wishes of the working people expressed at unified political education days and coming in written form to the press organs and television. For example, the inhabitants of the republic now have free access to the border zones and to the islands, measures have been outlined for the preservation of its historical and cultural heritage, an entire complex of questions aimed at improving the demographic situation has been resolved, and several other matters that disturbed people for a long time have been settled. Key questions in perestroika involving the daily interests of the people and the interests of the republic as a whole are being examined at practically every meeting of the Central Committee Bureau of the Estonian CP and of the Presidium of the republic's Council of Ministers and outdated barriers and limitations restraining initiative are being removed. Not all urgent matters can be resolved immediately, of course. But we must acknowledge self-critically that the Central Committee of the Estonian CP and the Council of Ministers of the ESSR do not always have enough

persistence and consistency in the resolution of a number of questions, in the organization of the work, and in finishing work that has been started.

The Great October opened up very broad possibilities for raising the spiritual level of the people. And in our republic during the years of Soviet authority, science and education developed rapidly and literature and art rose to new heights. But the delay in carrying out the reforms in the economy and public life that were already urgent in the mid-1970's could not help but have an effect on the cultural area as well. It came time to correct mistakes. And now, as always in a stage of fundamental transformations, the spiritual life of the Soviet people is marked by an intense increase in creative discussion and the extensive involvement of the masses in the formation of a qualitatively new state of development of the society. All ideological work is undergoing thorough restructuring, turning decisively to the real problems of the time. History itself has now pushed the social sciences to the front edge of perestroika. Estonian social scientists, especially those dealing with class and international relations and questions in the self-administration of labor collectives, cooperatives and social justice, can also do everything they can to help in their development. It is essential to raise the efficiency of applied research. We need the complete truth on events of both the distant as well as the recent past without embellishments and excessive attention to the current situation. This is the party's social order to historians. This task must be resolved without fail. The events of 23 August in Tallinn remind us of this once again. They reflected not only the extremism of a group of provocateurs acting under the scenario of hostile Western radio stations and elite reactionary emigres. They also showed the elementary ignorance of the tumultuous events of the prewar and postwar period on the part of isolated groups of the population having nothing to do with the organizers of the mob. The Central Committee Bureau of the Estonian CP is drawing serious conclusions from this and is working out a long-term program of measures aimed at improving class education and at developing a stable immunity to the intrigues of hostile propaganda.

We are part of a multinational state and the formation of an active internationalistic and patriotic consciousness is an object of our special concern. And today it is so important to educate the republic's working people, especially the young generation, in a spirit of implacability toward the slightest manifestation of nationalism and chauvinism, national limitation or conceit. The nature of the current discussion of several problems, in particular bilingualism, demography and economic ties, forces us to think about this. It is good to have polemics. At the same time, however, one must approach everything, especially in regard to national relations and the unity of our multinational state, with the greatest degree of responsibility, intelligence and tact. The friendship of the Soviet peoples and the unity of our great union are sacred concepts from October, the source of our strength, and our achievement. And no one is now permitted to shake these pillars.

The renewal of the society also presupposes the improvement of its moral atmosphere. We must all remember that precisely October and Lenin are the source of such concepts as revolutionary discipline and revolutionary order. Today we are no less in need of this in the course of perestroika.

In speaking of the peace-loving policies of the CPSU and Soviet State, of the role of the peaceful initiatives recently put forward by our country, and of the strengthening of the socialist community, Comrade Vayno noted that the ESSR has strong friendly ties with Schwerin District in the GDR and with Solnok Oblast in Bulgaria, which must be developed, making more extensive use of the very great possibilities opening up for comprehensive cooperation, in particular for the resolution of several questions in the economy and scientific-technical progress.

In conclusion, K. Vayno said:

Our country is celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October imbued with the revolutionary winds of abrupt changes. Our republic, just as the entire country, is working with a clear goal, resolving the task of accelerating social and economic development put forward by the party and fervently accepted by the people. In our work, revolutionary in nature, is seen the continuation of what was begun in October 1917, of what was put in place by bold and farsighted Leninist thinking.

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### **Pugo Greets German Guests, Speaks At LaSSR CP CC**

*18000060a Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
7 Oct 87 p 1, 3*

[LATINFORM report: "Deepen Cooperation, Strengthen Socialism. Meeting At Latvian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] On October 6, a delegation from the GDR Rostok district led by the 1st secretary of the SED Rostok district Ernst Timm visited the Central Committee of the Latvian CP. The 1st secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee B.K. Pugo cordially welcomed the guests from the brotherly socialist country. He stressed that each such meeting not only brings joy, but also allows the people to exchange experiences and to reach the next level in our development. This meeting has a special significance. It takes place on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October socialist revolution.

During the discussion that took place, B.K. Pugo spoke about the economic and social development of the republic under the conditions of restructuring, deepening democratic processes, and broadening the scope of glasnost. The decisive importance belongs to involving the widest working masses into all processes of restructuring society. In order for the people to start acting, they

must start feeling maximum care about them. A very serious turnaround was made in the republic in the field of housing construction. The developed program Housing-2000 has been supplemented with the subprogram Housing-90, which will allow us to cut the time necessary to obtain an apartment in half. In order to accomplish this task, we plan to transfer all construction combines to a 3-shift operation, increase the volume of construction by individuals, and develop the construction of apartment buildings using the resources of organizations or enterprises and cooperative construction proper. Capital investment into kindergartens and schools is being substantially increased. The pace of construction of these projects is increasing. More resources and attention are being appropriated for operating public health institutions and their material basis.

B.K. Pugo stressed that the basis for achieving the Party's main goal, namely, to increase the well-being of the people, is the further improvement of industrial and agricultural production based on scientific and technical progress. It is an issue, first of all, of science and production acting hand in hand, with the common goal of using new scientific developments sooner in practice. Therefore, science must switch over to self-support and receive funds only for concrete practical input. New scientific-industrial associations and engineering-technological centers, including one for robotics and rotor technology, have been organized in Latvia. A series of VUZes are organizing their educational bases at enterprises. Today, the scientific and technological progress is one of the main directions in our work, and we will pay even more attention to it.

The guests were told about the work designed to increase industrial production efficiency, radically improve product quality, and introduce efficient methods of running the economy. As to the situation in the agroindustrial complex, B.K. Pugo indicated that its workers have achieved good results. Planned assignments have been exceeded with regard to livestock products, and recently the republic received the Honorable Diploma of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, and All-Union Komsomol, for last year's wintering of cattle. Presently, the harvest is being completed. This year it was a very difficult task, especially on the potato fields: the weather was unpredictable. Therefore, a real battle for the high final results was waged. The introduction of intensive technologies helped in many ways to overcome the bad weather conditions of past summer and fall. More grain was harvested and the yield is higher than last year.

The guests were informed about the fulfillment of plans and socialist pledges, which the worker collectives adopted in honor of the 70th anniversary of Great October.

Ernst Timm expressed his thanks for the warm welcome the messengers from the Rostok district received on the soil of Soviet Latvia. The working people of the GDR, he

said, follow with great attention and interest the restructuring in the USSR and the fulfillment of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions.

After that, the leader of the GDR delegation told how the working people of the Rostok district, led by the district party organization, are implementing the decisions of the 11th SED congress. He noted that the industrial and agricultural production plans are successfully implemented. Compared with last year, labor productivity and consumer goods production have substantially increased. In agriculture, in spite of the poor weather conditions, one of the highest grain harvests during the existence of this brotherly country was gathered. The achievements in the field of social programs are impressive. For example, it is intended to resolve the housing problem by 1990.

Ernst Timm pointed to the special link between what has been achieved and the integration of science and production. There is not a single scientific-research organization in the district, which would not link its activity with the work of industrial enterprises, or would not carry out their assignments. During this cooperation, scientific institutions are assigned a concrete task, and the enterprise pays for the specified research. Thus, it is possible to talk about a thorough cooperation of science and economy in all spheres. Serious attention is paid to the overall training of specialists in production and science. Scientists go through training at enterprises, and industrial specialists do the same at scientific institutions.

The guest from the GDR stressed that the success in economic and social building is reflected in the social climate and, therefore, we can say that we will be able to achieve the tasks specified at the 11th SED congress. The joint efforts of the USSR and the GDR directed toward lessening of international tension have an optimistic influence on the political mood of the working people of the republic. The stronger are our ties, Ernst Timm said, the stronger is socialism, and the stronger will be peace on Earth.

B.K. Pugo and Ernst Timm noted during the exchange of opinions that the mutual contacts between the LaSSR and the Rostok district steadily widen and deepen. The agreement on friendly ties and cooperation, which was successfully accomplished, helped this process in many aspects. The new agreement, which is to be signed, will substantially widen the cooperation framework and will deepen its contents.

Comrades Ya.Ya. Vagris, A.V. Gorbunov, R.V. Praude, and V.P. Sobolev, took part in the discussion, which proceeded in an atmosphere of cordiality and brotherly friendship.

The agreement on friendly ties and cooperation between the LaSSR and the Rostok district of the GDR was signed on the same day. On behalf of the Latvian side, it

was signed by the 1st secretary of the Latvian CP Central Committee B.K. Pugo, and on behalf of the Rostok district, it was signed by the SED Rostok district committee 1st secretary Ernst Timm.

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**Latvian Central Committee Buro Fires Journal Editor**

*18000060b Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
9 Oct 87 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the Latvian CP Central Committee"]

[Text] A plan for additional measures to improve the patriotic and international education of the republic's population was discussed and approved at the regular meeting of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro. In particular, it specifies improvements in the propaganda of Lenin's nationality policy, further perfection of the international education in worker collectives, schools, and families, Russian and Latvian language studies in educational institutions; raising the culture of relations between nationalities, wider involvement of Party, war, and labor veterans in this work, and the organization of a series of conferences and seminars on these important subjects.

Party gorkoms and raykoms, primary Party organizations, soviet, labor union, and Komsomol bodies, and ideological departments and organizations are urged to also incorporate the necessary corrections and additions into the far-reaching and current plans for patriotic and international education of the workers and student youth.

The Buro approved the plan of actions directed at the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee decision "On Restructuring the System of Political and Economic Studies of Workers". The general leadership and control over the work directed on organization of the production-economic studies is assigned to the economic and industrial departments of the Latvian CP Central Committee and Party gorkoms and raykoms.

The Buro approved the decision of the Latvian CP Central Committee, LaSSR Council of Ministers, and the Central Committee of the Latvian Komsomol, concerning participation of republic workers in the All-Union socialist competition for successful wintering of cattle, increase in the production and purchase of livestock products during the winter season of 1987-1988. The decision commits the Party raykoms, ispolkoms of rayon soviets of people's deputies, the republic Gosagroprom, RAPO, and labor union and Komsomol bodies, to direct the efforts of workers collectives of the agro-industrial complex to a sharp increase in livestock commodities production in every kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and farm.

It is necessary to accelerate everywhere the preparation of farms, fodder shops, machines, and equipment, for work in winter conditions, and to take the necessary measures for the resupply of fodder stock. Special care should be taken to create the proper conditions for highly productive labor, living conditions, and rest for the livestock breeders.

The Buro approved the decision of the LaSSR CP Central Committee and the LaSSR Council of Ministers on measures to radically improve the upbringing, education, and material provisions for orphaned children and children without parental support. This decision commits the Ministries of education, health, and social welfare, ispolkoms of local soviets, and other state and civic organizations of the republic, to consider the upbringing, education, and material support of orphaned children and children without parental support, the creation of all the conditions necessary for their comprehensive and harmonic development, a reliable defense of such children's interests, and to provide them with the professional education and civic growth based on social justice guaranteed by socialist society.

The Buro discussed and approved the proposals of the Ministry of Culture and creative unions of the republic concerning preparations for the 100th anniversary of the well-known Latvian sculptor's K. Zale birthday.

The Buro discussed the publication of the report "On the Agenda is Today's Life" by the newspaper LITERATURA UN MAKSLA. Earlier this publication was discussed at a meeting of the LaSSR Writers Union Party buro and had been found to be irresponsible, inaccurate,

and unprofessional. This was brought to the attention of the deputy editor, CPSU member V.M. Avotins, who made the decision to publish this material.

The Latvian CP Central Committee Buro had found this information to be politically prejudiced and damaging to the international education of working people. Taking into account that V.M. Avotins had repeatedly demonstrated irresponsibility and political nearsightedness before, it was decided that he cannot remain in the position of the deputy editor.

The Buro directed the attention of the editorial board of LITERATURA UN MAKSLA to the unacceptable level of the ideological-political and professional preparation of certain articles and proposed to increase the responsibility of the editorial office employees for the quality of their work.

The Party buro of the LaSSR Writers Union and the management of LITERATURA UN MAKSLA were advised to take decisive measures in order to raise the political culture level of the editorial office collective and to reinforce this office with ideologically and professionally prepared personnel.

Editors of the press and managers of the mass media are instructed to pay special attention to improving the quality of materials and their accuracy and validity.

The Buro discussed a series of other problems and made respective decisions with regard to them.

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## Goskomizdat Measures to Improve Publishing Capacity, Quality

18300032 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 29 Sep 87 p 4

[Article by N. Tyurin: "The Book: Circulation and the Reader"]

[Text] **Almost 500 new books leave the printing machines of the country's printing houses every days. Is this many or few?**

Statistics prove that there is a threateningly high percentage of publications in libraries which are never requested by readers. Undistributed editions of books which are not in demand lie for years in stores and warehouses. One APN correspondent writes that today one can also find homes full of books which are unread.

We take pride in having the world's best readers, a large circulation of books and magazines, and overfilled library halls. However, we are merely witnesses to the deposits of literature which no one cares for and, at the same time, to a sharply growing shortage of classic books, as well as books by good contemporary authors. Therefore, irregardless of, it would seem, excellent gross indicators, for the present we cannot speak of well-being in book publishing matters.

The primary and most important cause of this unfavorable condition is the lack of conformity of book-publishing's material and technical base to the modern world level and to the needs of the Soviet reader. In allocating enormous financial resources to the development of printing's material and technical base, society at the same time is placing great tasks before book publishers. The primary of these is reducing the book shortage, for which it is necessary to know its precise dimensions. Specialists think that it is not really so big—30-40 of the books people need most.

Today, USSR Goskomizdat is trying to determine which books are most lacking, excepting artistic literature. These are such publications as "The Household Encyclopedia," "The Tasty and Nutritious Food Book" and others. They are also considering the optimal circulations for these books.

Secondly, USSR Goskomizdat believes that defining the "golden fund" of Russian and Soviet literature, with which it is necessary to provide all who wish, will also help to overcome the shortage. Thus, an unlimited subscription has already been taken up for the collected works of A. Pushkin and V. Mayakovskiy. Next in line are the books of M. Lermontov, M. Gogol, F. Dostoyevskiy, L. Tolstoy, A. Chekhov, S. Yesenin and M. Gorkiy.

Today great attention is being paid to popular and mass publications. This year, for the first time, a list of works which readers would like to see printed in the pages of

*Roman-Gazeta*, was determined on the basis of a public opinion survey. Thus, publishers have consciously placed themselves under the readers' control.

USSR Goskomizdat feels that it is necessary to go to labor collectives and large enterprises and discuss the publishers' plans there. It is necessary to create an opportunity for the people "to vote" for their favorite books and "their own" authors. To this effect, readers should have the right to control the activities of publishing houses.

USSR Goskomizdat has developed a number of measures to solve all of these problems. First, an Institute for the Sociology of Books is being created, which will study readers' demands and make scientifically substantiated recommendations. The Center for Sociology of Books and Reading, opened under the All-Union Palace of Books, will also help to more fully satisfy reader demand and improve the planning of publication matters. The center's scientific recommendations will be transmitted to the country's publishing houses and printers. The Institute of Books, which operated during the 1930s, is also being revived.

As of 1 January 1987, the country's publishing houses have switched to a new system for organizing and planning their work. They have been granted the right to independently form and confirm the thematic plan for literature output without the consent of their superior organizations. In this connection, urgent tasks are placed before all publishing houses: perfecting the practice of forming thematic plans, raising the substantiation of decisions concerning book publication, and ensuring the direct participation in thematic planning not only of publishing house workers, but also of the broad public itself.

Moreover, the operative reserve in the plans now comprises no less than 20 percent, which makes it possible to issue express-publications of the most talented and topical manuscripts.

Publishing houses are permitted independently to decide questions on the volume of each book, in order to more fully satisfy readers' interests and raise the idea and artistic content of manuscripts. They have been given the right to reduce the number of titles published by eliminating shallow and backward or irrelevant works, and to make urgent substitutions of one book for another, depending on the book's quality and content.

Particular attention will be given to determining the optimal proportions and correlations of the output of literature for each year and 5-year period on the whole, proceeding from reader inquiries. The volume of republications will grow to 20 percent (previously, it comprised slightly more than 5 percent).

Already, in a short time, A. Akhmatova's two-volume edition and the collected works of V. Bryusov, A. Ostrovskiy, I. Bunin, G. Nikolayeva, and V. Tendryakov are appearing on the counters of stores. The works of L. Andreyev, A. Belyy and M. Voloshin, the collected works of B. Pasternak, M. Bulgakov, the Russian historians V. Klyuchevskiy, S. Solovyev and, possibly, N. Karamzin, will be published as well. The songs of V. Vysotskiy, as well as his collected poetry, will also be produced with a large circulation.

Today, when the social activeness of the people has been sharply raised, sociopolitical literature still takes on great significance. This year, the 70th year of Soviet power, supplementary and expanded republications of the encyclopedia "Great October Socialist Revolution," a new edition of the book "Illustrated History of the USSR," as well as the series "Soviet Society Today: Questions and Answers," "27th CPSU Congress: Rights, Democracy, Social Justice," "Self-Management and Acceleration of the Economic Development of the USSR," and the 20-volume "Library of the Young Family," will be produced.

Many other novelties also await the readers. These include, for example, the associated publishers' "Library of the Soviet Novel." Its 70 volumes will include 90 works by the leading masters of Soviet literature. Another 47-volume associated publishers series, "For You, Youth," which incorporates the best works by Soviet writers concerning youth, is being prepared.

Moreover, USSR Goskomizdat is undertaking measures to increase the volume of books and book turnover. There are many books in the personal use of readers which they do not need. Presently, all of only 232 specialized stores and about 5,000 centers which accept books for secondhand sale are operating in the country. This is clearly insufficient and their network will be significantly expanded.

For over 10 years, another way has existed to satisfy reader demand: the production of literature in exchange for surrendered pulp literature. True, recently its subject-matter was sharply limited. Now, the production of works from the series "The Russian Historical Novel," the works of F. Dostoyevskiy, L. Tolstoy and A. Chekhov, the "Encyclopedia of Housekeeping," and the "Popular Medical Encyclopedia" is outlined in the long-range plan. Coupons for acquiring books are being given out in exchange for the surrender of other types of secondary raw materials.

USSR Goskomizdat is considering the matter of creating departments and branches of the central publishing houses (Sovetskiy Pisatel, Sovremennik, Molodaya Gvardiya) in Siberia, the Far East and other regions of the country. The project of organizing cooperative publishing houses—experimental enterprises for the production of scarce literature and "self-supporting" books—in Moscow is being discussed. The idea for creating one of them, "Vest," arose last year. Famous Soviet writers and poets—V. Kaverin, V. Bykov, B. Okudzhava, E. Mezheylaytis, and F. Iskander—responded to the group's initiative. The most serious difficulty in the path of cooperative publishing houses is the lack of a private printing base, which can be created when "Vest" gains the strength. Meanwhile, the cooperatives are planning to distribute their future production among the low-volume printing enterprises of USSR Goskomizdat and other ministries and departments. "Vest" will independently sell its books at cooperative prices.

Thus, substantial restructuring is taking place in the Soviet book publishing industry. Its implementation will allow stores and warehouses to be freed of literature that nobody needs, replacing it with books which today the readers await.

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## Coexistence of Internationalism, Nationalism Pondered

### Readers' Letters Spark Discussion

Frunze *SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA* in Russian  
12 Sep 87p 1

[Article by V. Yurlov under the rubric "Nationalism Is Our Strength": "Call Him Brother: Headed for the Republic Practical and Scientific Conference"]

[Text]

### A Frank Dialogue

A month has now gone by since the airing of the all-Union television program "One's Position" devoted to the problem of international relations in our nation, but the controversy evoked by it has still not died down. And this is not surprising. This was perhaps the first time there was such open discussion of the extremely delicate subject, one which demands not only spiritual refinement but also a sincere sense of belonging to the great fraternity of internationalists.

I happened to watch the program away from home, among some guests assembled to celebrate the birth of an "heir," albeit the fifth in line. The group consisted of members of various tribes, as is most frequently the case in circles of the republic's intelligentsia—and not just the intelligentsia. There were relatives from distant communities. And the subject "One's Position," which raised some extremely urgent problems, evoked lively interest in everyone present. Then, from the screen, the question was asked: "When did you begin to feel like an internationalist?"

The question, it appeared, was addressed also to each of us. No one was able to answer it just like that, however. Why not? One of the guests explained it by the fact that such a question had not really existed for the older generations of our country. Therefore, he continued, he would have to first separate himself from the world around him as a Kirghiz; others, as Russians, Georgians, Kazakhs and so forth. He had become accustomed to studying at a multinational school. There had been representatives of 30 nationalities at his institute, 15 in his course of study. In short, it sometimes seemed to him that he was born an internationalist.

This perfectly correct and natural position was not the only one taken. People objected, saying that internationalization cannot be regarded as the unification of absolutely everything. National interests, national self-awareness and a sense of national dignity are real features of our existence. And one will probably not feel like an internationalist until he is filled with love and respect for his own culture, for his own "smaller" homeland, as they say today.

These questions also concern our readers.

"When we entered into battle, we did not think about the nationality of the person standing next to us. No matter how weak some of the fightingmen were in Russian, everyone understood the command 'For the homeland!' Today, it seems that everyone is studying Russian, but some people no longer understand one another," complains war veteran G. Skripko.

"Why is it that in some places love for the homeland is contrasted with love for one's native region? Perhaps this is advantageous to those people who have overdone it and spread the Russian language to the detriment of others. The Russian language, the language of Tolstoy and Lenin, does not need this. It already enjoys the greatest of prestige in the world. Just make it possible for us to study the real history of our people, a history without omissions, and create a situation in which we can study our native language.—A.K."

Problems of relations among people in our multinational state are indeed complex. They require a careful, well-thought-out approach and will not tolerate haste or political verbiage. Particularly in the situation of perestroika and glasnost. Incidentally, there are people who sincerely believe that the exacerbation of national relations is linked directly to glasnost.

Until recently—up until the April Plenum, to be exact—it was usually believed that we live in a situation of complete unity and well-being. This was a basic and all-embracing truth, which it was essentially forbidden to attempt to prove or refute. That well-being, however, we now see, was frequently just an imaginary, officially proclaimed truth. As soon as the atmosphere became permeated with the breath of glasnost, as soon as it became possible for each individual to be himself, it turned out that we are very diverse people with respect to cast of mind, personality and outlook on things, events and problems, including those involving international intercourse.

This in no way contradicts our enormous achievements in the area of national relations. I would like to point out what was said about this in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Congress. "National oppression and national inequality in all its forms and manifestations," it stated, "have been destroyed once and for all. Indestructible friendship of peoples and respect for the national culture and national dignity of all peoples have become firmly established and have entered into the awareness of tens of millions of people. The Soviet people are a qualitatively new social and international community welded together by a unity of economic interests, ideology and political goals."

The document states that our achievements must not create the impression that the national processes are without problems. "Conflicts are inherent in all development and are unavoidable also in this area." We know

that there are deficiencies in this area also in our republic. Life is therefore constantly setting forth new tasks with respect to improving national relations.

Yes, we have unfortunately had manifestations of both nationalism and chauvinism. They must not be either underestimated or exaggerated, of course. I would merely underscore the fact that this or that opinion is frequently based on subjective feelings, on purely personal experience. Someone heard something on a bus, heard something through the G.V. (grapevine), and so forth. I would not want to ignore an aspect of the problem described in a letter from our reader, however.

"I recently read an article in your newspaper which called upon all residents of the republic to study Kirghiz. Why? Has Russian been abolished as the language of international intercourse? I have not heard about this. If it is so, then why should all of us study yet another language. In my opinion, this is not expedient. It would be better to spend the time studying a foreign language.—A. Kim, engineer"

What can one say to our reader? First of all, that disregard for the language of the people among whom one lives evokes perfectly justified resentment. Incidentally, the first Russian and other specialists arriving in the republics of Central Asia to help build a new life understood this very well, and practically all of them immediately began studying the language of the indigenous population. This is perhaps why people of the older generation say that there was no talk of nationalism at that time.

What is the situation today? Some people feel that freedom to choose the language of study relieves them and their children of the duty to demonstrate respect for the local language, meaning also for the traditions, the customs, the rites and the culture of the people. They are greatly mistaken, of course. We have never done this, and we never will.

Frankly speaking, it is simply shameful to live many years in a republic and not learn the local language, not to try, at least, to learn it. Do not be in a hurry to object, annoyed reader. Believe me, I direct this reproach not just at you, but primarily at all of those whose position calls for them to resolve this problem: public education workers, workers in the Academy of Sciences and so forth. At the present time, I have to say, the study of the Kirghiz language by the indigenous population is clearly not organized satisfactorily in the republic. This matter is constantly debated at the most diverse conferences and levels. Good opportunities have not existed for the study of the Kirghiz language by everyone desiring to study it, and, we dare say, they still do not exist.

There are, of course, other problems as well, which pertain primarily to the international indoctrination of the upcoming generation.... Is the development of internationalism promoted, for example, by the fact that

students of two schools, Russian and national, in the same city are not able to hold a single joint evening [event] or to jointly attend a theater during the entire academic year? Or take the fact that in Frunze the number of schoolchildren and kindergartners with Kirghiz as the language of instruction is approaching the zero mark. This has occurred not through the fault of just someone; it is our own fault. We all know very well, however, to whom our enemies attribute all of these errors. In addition, some people fan an unwholesome interest in this matter and, both appropriately and inappropriately, rouse public opinion. The matter is indeed an obvious one. Schools with Kirghiz as the language of instruction are not just desirable; they are simply essential. And we need to establish as many as are needed.

Incidentally, this would knock the props from beneath those who like to discourse on historical subjects. The fact is that even today, representatives of various nationalities do not view history as our common and extremely valuable heritage but attempt to single out in history primarily their own line, their own national exceptionality. Then, bits and pieces dear to the hearts of some people are extracted from history. And, as Historian G. Afanasyev has colorfully commented, these bits and pieces have been turned into banners, and brother goes against brother bearing these banners. Do you think that I am exaggerating? No, one only has to recall not just the events in Kazakhstan, but also the activities of the leaders of the infamous "Memorial" society and recent sortees by Baltic nationalists. The activities of "Memorial," about which a great deal has been written of late in the central press, are particularly painful to those of us who are of Russian nationality. This "Memorial" evokes nothing in one's heart except a protest against the throwbacks to the everlasting memory of the great-power chauvinism which existed in czarist Russia.

I do not believe that anyone, including Russians, have the right to speak of some sort of exceptionality of or privileges for their people.

It has long been noted that the persistent and arrogant aggrandizement of things of one's own nationality to the hidden or obvious detriment of others is inherent in the character of those slighted by real culture and intellect, and demonstrates a low level of political self-awareness. No higher and no lower, but one among equals—this is the place of each people in the great Soviet family. And each of us must feel that he is a part of an inseparable and united country.

I do not know whether I have succeeded in answering the question voiced on Central Television: "When did you begin to feel like an internationalist"? In any case I would like to think that an extremely beneficial and instructive discussion took place in the polyglot group mentioned at the beginning of the article.

Perhaps you too, esteemed readers, will enter into this discussion and attempt to recall the time in your life when you first wanted to call a member of another nationality "brother." The main thing, of course, is that all of us together concern ourselves in every way with one thing, the most important: preserving and adding to everything which contributes to true internationalism, to true friendship of peoples.

### **Inadequate Theory, Dangers of Islam**

1800038 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in  
Russian 29 Oct 87 p 3

[Interview with Doctor of Philosophy Asein Izmaylovich Ismailov, head of the Philosophy Department at Kirghiz State University, by correspondent V. Yurlov, under the rubric "Problems of Internationalism: At the Crossroad of Opinions": "Through the Heart of One's People: Moving Toward the Republic Scientific and Practical Conference"]

[Text] Our correspondent talks with Doctor of Philosophy Asein Izmaylovich Ismailov, head of the Philosophy Department at Kirghiz State University.

Our readers have greeted with interest the discussion on matters of international indoctrination carried in *Sovetskaya Kirgiziya*. Each article has evoked responses, and reaction has been most unexpected. For example, this is what V. Kiryanov, an engineer from Osh, writes about the article "Call Him Brother":

"The fact that we are united is unquestionable. But what do we do about those distinctions which exist by nature in each nation I am certainly not trying to single out any one nation, certainly not the Russian nation. But what do I do about everything which is genuinely Russian in me, that which speaks in me with the voice not just of my past but also the present. What are my friends to do about that which is primordial Kirghiz, German or Uygur. What is to be said about the material and social foundation of each Soviet nation. Everyone can see it. The spiritual roots and everything connected with them concern me deeply, however."

[Question] What do you think about the writer's position, Asein Izmaylovich?

[Answer] The letter touches upon one of the pressing problems of socialist development, the problem of the interdependence and interaction of the national and the international in our culture and in our lives. But the fact that it has arisen today with a previously unexpected urgency is because for a long time we were lulled by our own statements and did not attach particular importance to it. Or else we simply reassured one another by saying that our unity is indestructible, that internationalism is in the blood of us all. That is true, of course. As soon as we relaxed the critical and dialectical approach toward the reality in our lives, however, there immediately

surfaced an underestimation of the need for painstaking and daily indoctrinational work in the spirit of internationalism. This pertains to everyone.

[Question] If it pertains to everyone, then this includes the social scientists. Today, much is being said about the fact that during the period of stagnation social science performed commentary at its best; created myths, in the worse case. What is the situation of the theoreticians of the national question in this respect?

[Answer] Unfortunately, there turned out to be not very many theoreticians of the national question capable of engaging in fundamental theoretical research. Even those engaged, almost on a voluntary basis, mainly in precisely identifying the concepts and definitions or the role of language as a manifestation of the nation. This is true also of our republic. The assertion made by the theoreticians that there are no problems in the national question has been refuted by life itself.

The theory of nations and national relations developed along the path of theorization and abstraction, while the actual process proceeded at the level of problems and conflicts. There is also another problem. The universal extolling of achievements in international brotherhood led to a practical limitation of the staff of scientific workers and organizations dealing with it. There is a single sector of proletarian internationalism and national relations in our nation and within the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, which has only a few workers. What possibilities, then, could republic science have

The reasons for this include the equalization of scientific cadres, the coordination and focusing of the soviets on the resolution of far from the most urgent problems facing the society, the reduction of social scientists to enumerators and demographers, and so forth. The national question is a very subtle one, however, and it needs to be studied skilfully. Any deviation from dialectics can have unpredictable consequences.

[Question] What are you referring to?

[Answer] The events in Alma-Ata and the Baltic republics, in which, as we know, the youth were the main participants. There is nothing surprising about this. Their world outlook was shaped in a far from ideal situation, after all. Take the VUZs. It has been learned that some of them had instructors who did not in any way make critical use in their lectures of the lies of Western radio stations and essentially promoted nationalism and praised the feudal past. Unfortunately, such things occurred also at Kirghiz University. I personally believe that sowing among students discord and animosity among peoples, deliberately or not, is apostasy, that it actually serves our enemies.

Consequently, we need to proceed from the fact that manifestations of nationalism occur. And the appropriate conclusion should be drawn from this. I recently read

the following in *Sovetskaya Kirgiziya*: "The actions of certain leaders of "Memorial" are especially unacceptable to us of Russian nationality. They evoke nothing in the heart except resentment against the throwbacks to the everlasting memory of the great-power chauvinism which existed in czarist Russia." Continuing this thought, I want to say that any nationalistic manifestations, any kind of throwback to international discord, are absolutely alien to us members of the Soviet peoples of Central Asia.

It is not enough merely to state this, however. Truth and glasnost, truth and justice, tact and mutual respect are what we need to establish universally and tirelessly in national relations.

[Question] A Ukrainian poet once appeared on Central Television. He spoke of friendship of peoples. This is approximately what he said: "All people of labor, no matter what their nationality, are the same inside. We just saw in a documentary film on the screen a Kazakh woman who was helping to drive livestock onto Ukrainian land just liberated from the occupiers. She looked a lot like my mother, a Ukrainian from the Poltava area."

The film then continued on the television screen. An old Kazakh woman, talking in Russian about experiences of long ago, suddenly used a Ukrainian word which I did not know. I did not understand it, but there was so much affection, warmth and love for another people in it that I thought to myself: that word was no accident. It was the spiritual foundation of our internationalism. Many people say with apparent justification that peoples in the past also treated their neighbors with respect and did not covet the best things one another had. Peoples, but not their leaders, for whom it was advantageous to set "their own" against "others," to cultivate national prejudices. The peoples themselves had a good foundation in this respect.

[Answer] Yes, that is so. Despite this, one of the main matters discussed by the social scientists is the question of national consciousness and nationalism. It would seem that there is an abyss between these two concepts. But how difficult it is in some situations to draw a line between them.

Let us begin with the differences. National self-awareness is in the area of social psychology, while nationalism is a part of ideology. They have in common, however, the fact that these differences are in the area of public awareness. There are different kinds of nationalism. Nationalism under colonialism is one thing. Or even under capitalism. Nationalism emerges there as a protest by oppressed peoples against enslavers. Nationalism can therefore be of positive significance, particularly at the stage of a liberation struggle.

Nationalism under socialism is something entirely different. Let us acknowledge once again that this shameful phenomenon exists in our own reality. It is not the same

as under capitalism, of course. It is of a different nature. It is not of a class nature, but its manifestations are certainly unattractive. They are more than that; they are disgusting.

It seems to me that nationalism has five, more or less, important characteristic sources. The first is when social and national policy is distorted; the second, when the level of ideological and indoctrinational work drops; the third, when there is a distortion of social relations; the fourth, when there is stagnation; and a fifth, not without the influence of "omissions" left us by the former life. Any nation, regardless of its size, can be the carrier of nationalism and chauvinism.

With respect to national self-awareness, the best conditions for its development exist precisely under socialism. At the risk of being redundant, I would put it this way: National self-awareness is a process of getting to know oneself based on the formula "I am I." It is difficult in that there are always forces which attempt to adapt history and its objective laws to their own interests, to acquire certain privileges and advantages in the achievement of their goals. Incidentally, this frequently gives rise to conflicts, particularly when combined with social injustice.

[Question] In your opinion, what practical measures are necessary today for the improvement and development of international relations? Should the indoctrinational work in multinational collectives differ from that performed in those with few nationalities?

[Answer] I believe that the successful development and improvement of international relations demands practical measures which are implemented without dramatization or simplification, on the basis of specific analysis performed from the standpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory of nations and national relations. The party organizations, which implement the Leninist policy, have a great role in this. Policy must be defined on a scientific basis, however. Unfortunately, our theory of nations and national relations have ordinarily existed in the form of addenda to directives or as statements of figures and other data. Where were the ideas, the concepts, the elaborations and recommendations

Indoctrinational work in the multinational and single-national collectives and the collectives with few nationalities differs—not in its essence, but in form. It would be a mistake to assume that there is no need to conduct international indoctrination in the single-national collective or patriotic indoctrination in the multinational collective, because whatever the form of the community—the socialist nation, the ethnic group or the Soviet people, a multinational community of people, let us say—they all develop on the basis of two trends of socialism: prosperity and equalization. It is necessary to prosper in order for equalization to occur, and prosperity inevitably produces equalization. Such is the dialectic of

the two resultant, interrelated and progressive trends in the development of nations and national relations. It determines in great part also the attitude toward the country of residence.

[Question] We know that for the most diverse reasons one can regard one's nation of residence in different ways. For some it is Homeland with a capital letter. For others it is also a homeland—but with a small letter. For yet others it is merely the place where they live. It is simply impossible to impose this or that opinion upon anyone. Indocctrinational measures are required. Indocctrination in a sense of duty to the country or the republic, the arousal of a sense of patriotism. There would be no need to mention this if the recently revived Islam had not introduced some changes into this model. Its agents actively promote the idea that the Muslim peoples should join together, that religion is above any homeland, whatever it might be— capitalist or socialist. Furthermore, preference is absolutely unequivocally given not to our system. What can you say, Asein Izmaylovich, about this problem, about Islam and the national question?

[Answer] Islam is perhaps the most reactionary of the three world religions. It penetrates deeply into the lives and minds of Muslims. On the one hand, there is not supposed to be any promotion of Islam in our nation. On the other, just try to differentiate between believers and nonbelievers. The danger of Islam lies in the fact that in the republics of Central Asia and in Kazakhstan it is frequently a synonym, as it were, for the national, while preserving its religious essence. Its agents, acting from reactionary positions, also call for unification—but on a religious and not a class basis.

Islam has never contributed to development or to the resolution of the national question. On the contrary, it makes the matter more difficult and impedes our people on their path of social progress. With respect to the equalization of nations, Islam is officially for the unification of peoples, but on a religious basis. It is hardly necessary to explain what this means in real life. Islam has served and continues to serve the class of exploiters, and its ideology conflicts with the resolution of the national question.

[Question] Traditions, customs, rites.... They constitute the foundation from which arises the fundamental but not stagnant feature known as character. The precepts of

its structure, not provided by the Bible or the Koran but developed by the historical experience of the people, are sometimes immutable. The common Soviet traditions sometimes clearly lack "the ability to compete," however.

[Answer] Internationalism has a significant effect on the development of traditions, customs and rites, introducing common, socialist elements into them. This accounts for the emergence of common Soviet traditions, rites and customs. These, in turn, influence the development of internationalism. Reactionary customs need to be differentiated from progressive ones, of course. The former obstruct and create additional difficulties on the path of progress, while the latter promote it.

There are great difficulties when it comes to defining traditions, rites and customs as national or international phenomena. It would be difficult to find a purely national or international rite. Any aware phenomenon in the area of either national or international relations should be regarded as a social phenomenon with the following elements: 1. those which are common to all mankind; 2. social and class elements; 3. specifically national elements. The role, the importance and the functions of these elements are altered by social and economic factors. If social and class elements have the main role within the social whole, it can be international. The international is ordinarily national, but not all that is national can be defined as international.

[Question] At the beginning of our discussion, Asein Izmaylovich, we talked about the fact that peoples in the past always treated one another with respect. The same can be said today. And how could it be otherwise? How could one dispute the clear and definite concept of our famous writer M. Alekseyev that "the way to the hearts of other peoples lies through the heart of one's own people.... I will never believe that a person who does not love his own mother can learn to love the mother of another."

[Answer] Remarkable words. They graphically and clearly reveal the dialectic of international intercourse. At the same time, they define also an entire area of our work with respect to international and patriotic indocctrination.

**Moldavia: Problems In Atheist Propaganda, Education Aired**

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No 19, Oct 87 (signed to press 28 Sep 87) pp 2-8

[Article by N.F. Bondarchuk, secretary of the Central Committee of Moldavian CP: "Raise Atheist Work to the Level of Modern Requirements"]

[Excerpts] Party committees, local soviets of people's deputies, labor unions, Komsomol, educational and cultural agencies, Znaniye society organizations, and mass media, in their efforts to organize and conduct atheistic work must be directed, first of all, by the need to strengthen its link with life and the concrete problems that our society is solving today. These bodies must increase their aggressiveness, make realistic assessments of the achieved results, demonstrate irreconcilability toward dogmatism and formalism, and increase competence and professionalism.

The most important condition for efficient atheist education of the masses is to provide effective Party leadership over this important sector of ideological work. The Moldavian CP Central Committee constantly keeps its eye on the issues of forming atheist convictions and increasing the social activity of the masses. During the last two years, the practices of atheist education in the Suvorovskiy, Kaushanskiy, Leovskiy, Kalarashskiy, Teleneshtskiy, Dondyushanskiy, Kutuzovskiy, and other rayons, were studied and discussed. The expanded session of the Central Committee's Ideological commission discussed the religious situation in the republic and the goals of Party, soviet, and administrative authorities with regard to improving the atheistic education of the republic population and the work on observing the laws on religious cults. Scientific practical conferences, where practical recommendations were developed, took place in the most of the cities and rayons of the republic. Today, the problems of atheist education are discussed more often in the primary Party and Komsomol organizations; the level of atheist propaganda has been raised; and individual work with believers has improved.

At the same time, as sociological studies indicate, the level of religious rites in the republic is still quite high, and unregistered sects continue to function.

The main deficiency in restructuring the atheist education of the population is the lack of necessary systematizing. Until now, many Party committees have carried out this work irregularly, depending on the next directive from higher authorities. Inertia, stagnation of thoughts, complacency, attempts to embellish the actual situation are still occurring.

It had been noted long ago and quite rightfully that success in any work depends most of all on the cadres. Atheist education cannot be raised to a new level until

qualified and mature, with respect to theory and methodology, scientific atheism propagandists are trained in each city, rayon, and working collective.

Organizationally, the system of preparing atheist cadres in the republic has improved. A program of training atheist-lecturers designed for the period until 1990 has been developed and is being implemented. For this purpose, schools to train atheist-lecturers from a number of Kishinev's college instructors and professors and VUZ instructors were opened based on the inter-collegiate department of scientific atheism at the Kishinev State University imeni V.I. Lenin. A school to train atheist-lecturers from among teachers at general education and technical schools has been opened at the republican institute for advanced teacher training. Similar schools were opened in 1986 based on Beltskiy and Tiraspolskiy pedagogical institutes. For many years, a department of scientific atheism has been operating at the Marxism-Leninism university of the Moldavian CP Central Committee. In order to prepare atheist cadres for cities and rayons, permanent seminars operate at the Party raykoms within the Znaniye society system. In short, it seems that cadres are supposedly there. However, complaints from rayons about the shortage of atheist cadres may be heard often. What is the matter?

As analysis had shown, only a small percentage of trained cadres participates in atheist work. The reasons for this, first of all, are that not all Party committees responsibly approach the training of atheist cadres: quite often odd people are sent to the Marxism-Leninism university, not all graduates are properly used; and part of them does not carry out propagandistic work at all.

Obviously, training scientific atheism propagandists is not a simple matter. During atheist-lecturer training, special attention must be devoted to the deep study of the religious practices that are most widespread in the republic; the forms and methods of religious associations' influence on believers; equipping the students with scientific and methodical bases of atheist education, psychology, and pedagogics; their mastering the art of polemics and persuasion.

What are the primary tasks that must be solved by Party committees in restructuring the atheist work, its organization and content? First of all, we must change the attitude of Party committees, primary Party organizations, communists and Komsomol members, labor unions, and the entire aktiv, toward it. Party committees, by providing leadership over atheist education, public organizations, and ideological departments, must make efforts to attain, on the one hand, an interrelationship and correlation of their actions, and, on the other hand, the separation of their functions in accordance with their inherent forms and methods of work, spheres of influence, etc.. This is achieved by clearly defining purposes and tasks, correlating plans, and making and implementing mutual decisions concerning the most important aspects of atheist propaganda. Managers of

work collectives, leading specialists, cultural and education specialists, members of the medical profession, and teachers must be brought into this work.

The content and forms of propaganda designed for believers also must be improved. We must bring our atheist propaganda as close as possible to the needs of life and "lock it in" primarily on those problems that are of interest to people today. Without allowing any compromises with regard to religious outlook, we should augment the argumentation tested by science and practice concerning those social and spiritual problems of life for which religion offers its own solutions. First of all, we are talking about the problems of spiritual and moral life of contemporary society and the role of religion in the historical process. The interest in the latter, obviously, will increase with the approach of the 1000th anniversary of Christianity in Rus' and the 2000th anniversary of Christianity. Due to these facts, it is necessary to raise seriously the ideological and theoretical levels of atheist propaganda.

Improving individual work with believers requires special attention. Each person is a whole multifaceted and unique world. Therefore, the influence of propaganda and agitation on the consciousness and spiritual world of people cannot be the same. The individual approach to education allows one to assess better the social and national peculiarities, as well as the psychological and emotional features of a person. At the same time, it is important to remember that individualized education does not have anything to do with didactics and lecturing. It presumes a patient and respectful attitude toward a person.

At the present time, the tendency of religious organizations is growing to assure their future by promoting the role of the family as a "home church" in the religious education of the new generation and using various negative attendant circumstances in some families in order to increase the religious influence on them. Therefore, in order to improve atheist work, especially important is the position of the 27th CPSU Congress directed toward further strengthening of the family and increasing its role in children's education. We should join the efforts of working collectives and school teachers; bring in women's councils and commissions for the support of family and school; and organize the atheist education of all parents. Much can be done by medical institutions.

Atheist work with youth must be also brought up to the level required by the times. The statement that the consciousness of Soviet young men and women is generally free of the influence of religious ideology is unquestionable. However, it is still early to think that we do not have any problems with religiosity among young people. According to the data contained in sociological studies conducted in different regions of the country, religious youth represents 2-4 percent of the total number of believers. Approximately the same numbers are valid for our republic.

For some time past, as it was published in the press, advocates of so-called "nontraditional cults" have appeared in a number of places. These people carry out their missionary work mainly among students and the intelligentsia. Membership in these organizations quite often is connected with rejecting socially useful activities, the family, and ignoring the Soviet laws.

The general education school has great opportunities for forming an atheist outlook in the rising generation. Interesting experience in working with children from families of believers has been accumulated in Burlaneshetskaya junior high and Feteshtskaya high schools of Yedinetskiy rayon. Individualized work here is carried out taking into consideration the age and psychological peculiarities of the students, family and income conditions, and students' interests and inclinations. In addition to teachers, specialists of the farm actively participate in the work with this category of students and their parents. Komsomol and Young Pioneer organizations, and teachers' groups are trying to achieve positive results in bringing the student subjected to religious influence into active, socially-useful activity. Children from the families of sect members regularly attend school on Saturdays. Many of the schools' graduates from the families of sect members attend universities and technical schools, and are good workers.

However, many teachers' collectives do not use to the fullest extent the educational possibilities of classes, and the atheist and ideological content of the educational materials.

All this obliges Party gorkoms and raykoms, ministries of higher and medium special education, and their local agencies to take active measures in order to increase the atheist training of teachers. More attention toward these problems should be paid in the work with students of VUZes and, especially, of technical ones. Much depends also on the department of scientific atheism of the MoSSR Academy of Sciences and the inter-collegiate department of scientific atheism at the Kishinev State University imeni V.I. Lenin. They are urged to study systematically the level of religiosity among the population, the evolution of the religious persuasions of believers, the level of efficiency of the forms and methods of the atheistic work being used, and to provide concrete recommendations in order to increase its efficiency.

It is necessary to raise the qualitative level of teaching social subjects in educational institutions at all levels. The institutes of history, language, and literature at the MoSSR Academy of Sciences, and the respective departments of republican colleges, during their preparation of new school books in Moldavian history and the history of Moldavian literature must pay more attention to disclosing the negative role of religion, and throw a brighter light on the traditions of free thought, anticlericalism, and atheism in the history of Moldavia.

Large tasks stand before the organizations of the Znaniye society. As of today, the work here suffers from straightforwardness, primitivism, and heaviness. Quite often it lacks argumentation and convincingness. This is the reason, why in some places, distrust and indifference on the part of both believers and nonbelievers are rooted in this work.

Recently, the mass information and propaganda media have begun to pay more attention to the problems of forming the scientific ideology. However, materials with profound contents carrying large ideological potential appear extremely seldom. Articles and presentations quite often are very distant from what the people need today.

Criticism of extremism must take a special place. Here, we need a conversation based on trust and local facts known to the people. Those are cases of extremists violating the public order and assaulting children and teenagers; facts of counteracting the educational work in school, of resisting authorities, of spreading malicious rumors that discredit the Soviet system, the activities of Soviet authorities, and the work practices of atheism propagandists.

Creative organizations and cultural and educational institutions are greatly indebted to the activists of atheistic work. Ideological workers feel a shortage of bright art works that would disclose the real role of religion and church in history and, in particular, in the history of the Moldavian people. Atheist works of writers from other Soviet republics are seldom translated into Moldavian. Paintings of a similar nature, posters, and feature films that would capture the minds and hearts of the people, are also absent.

Socialist holidays and rites are an efficient factor in forming the scientific-materialistic ideology. A certain system of conducting them has been shaped in the republic. In this sense, these are things to learn from, for example, the enthusiasts of Ryshkanskiy rayon.

However, not everywhere do the Party committees widely use the new holidays and rites as the most important component of atheist education of the population.

The republican ministries of everyday repairs and services rendered to the population, housing and municipal services, and culture, together with the ispolkoms of local Soviets of people's deputies, must demonstrate more initiative, creativity, and persistence in promptly resolving these extremely important problems. The MoSSR Academy of Sciences, Ministry of Higher Education, and Ministry of Culture, must organize the training and requalification of cadres, who would work on the problems of Socialist rites.

One cannot identify religious holidays as national. This stereotype at the present time is used by imperialist propaganda for stirring up nationalism and religious discord in order to break up the friendship among the representatives of various nations and minorities of our country. It slows down the process of internationalization and feeds and fixes religious and nationalistic vestiges.

We should not ignore the clerical and nationalist propaganda from abroad. Religious and nationalist vestiges in the republic have not been completely overcome yet. They are evident in part of the believers and intelligentsia.

In order to prevent and neutralize these phenomena, an important role belongs to the ideological-political, international education of believers and members of their families in schools, work collectives, and in their places of residence, the propaganda of class unity, the revolutionary and anticlerical struggle of the Russian, Moldavian, and other peoples.

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## Soviet Culture Fund Activities, Plans Detailed

### Accomplishments Reviewed at Press Conference

18000038 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 26 Sep 87 p 1

[Unsigned article: "Preserve, Assimilate, Increase"]

[Text] Preserve, assimilate and increase—that is the program of action of the Soviet Culture Fund. The first results of the work of this public organization were reported to journalists at a press conference held 24 September in Moscow.

The fund's chairman of the board Academician D.S. Likhachev stressed that the members of the fund are not only involved with the preservation of the past but are also striving to contribute to the creation of values that immortalize the present. The basic programs for the work of the Soviet Culture Fund were outlined. Among them is the improvement of regional work. An All-Union Conference of Regional Specialists will be held within a month in Poltava precisely at the initiative of the fund.

The conditions have been worked out for the carrying out of open competition for a cultural composition dedicated to Vasilii Terkin. The monument to the main hero of the war, the Soviet soldier that saved humanity from fascist enslavement, will be erected in Smolensk. The Soviet Culture Fund supported the initiative of the citizens of Leningrad to put up a monument to P.I. Chaykovskiy. The fund is also proposing help in the restoration of the farmstead of A.K. Tolstoy in Krasnyy Rog in Pochelskiy Rayon of Bryansk Oblast. A decision was made with the direct participation of the Soviet Culture Fund to establish a branch of the Museum of Ancient Russian History imeni A. Rublev in the village of Belaya Krinitsa of Chernovtsy Oblast.

At the press conference, there was a report on the work of the recently established collectors' club of the Soviet Fund.

The fund's international contacts are expanding. An agreement was reached with the firm Richard Barton SA (Switzerland) for the production of facsimile reproductions of the works of French art located in the State Hermitage and the Museum of Fine Arts imeni A.S. Pushkin. A protocol was signed with the firm Amer Grup Ltd. (Finland) on the organization of two exhibitions of private collections of Soviet collectors next year in the Scandinavian countries. And still another bit of news: the American businessman G. Soros is providing the fund the means for carrying out a cultural exchange and for the on-the-job training of our specialists, post graduates and students at universities in the United States and Great Britain.

Many compatriots abroad have recently given the fund relics of domestic culture. The fund is also receiving gifts from Soviet citizens. Among the latest additions are several thousand drawings by Nadja Rusheva that were given over by her mother N. Azhikmaa-Rusheva. And the national artist of the USSR O. Vereyskiy gave more than 100 autolithographs, artistic and graphic works of his father, the well-known master G.S. Vereyskiy. A unique gift was received from the veteran of the Great Patriotic War I. Samoylov: 24 collections of objects of national art, the fruit of more than 30 years of collecting.

### Financial Situation, Fund-Raising Plans

18000038 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 40, No 40 11-18 Oct 87 p 13

[Article by Natalya Davydova: "12 Billion Rubles Is Not Enough!: A Meeting with the Board of the Soviet Culture Fund"]

[Text] The concert "Premiere of Premieres," held in the Rossiya Concert Hall on September 25 was far from ordinary. Even if the hall were 10 times larger (it seats 2,200), it would not have been able to accommodate all those who wished to attend. The famous ballet duet of Yekaterina Maximova and Vladimir Vasilyev (each of their four dances have not been performed before), Bolshoi soloists Tamara Sinyavskaya and Zurab Sotkilava, the "Virtuosos of Moscow" chamber orchestra conducted by Vladimir Spivakov, and other artists planned their premieres and gathered together to help another premiere—the first charitable concert of the Soviet Culture Fund (SCF). The proceeds will go to restore the Ascension Church near Nikitskiye Vorota in Moscow, in which, supposedly, the famous Alexander Pushkin was married. The former church will become an exhibition and concert hall.

The real work will begin after the premiere. This concert, too, will be followed by dozens and maybe, hundreds of others. Variety and film stars will participate in the charitable evenings in Moscow. Because the Soviet Culture Fund will soon be 1 year old, it is time again to summarize (for the public) its problems and answer journalists' questions. This is what Academician Dmitry Likhachev, chairman of the board, his First Deputy Georg Myasnikov and other participants did at the first press conference of the SCF (hence they will become traditional).

On September 1, there were more than 12 million rubles in the fund's account No 702, of which over 700,000 are voluntary donations from people and 11.5 million are dues of sponsors.

Are we satisfied with this sum? We would not be satisfied even if we had 12 billion rubles since the need for culture is unlimited, said Academician Likhachev. "We must participate in all international auctions and collect not

only monuments of Russian culture but also cultural monuments of various epochs and peoples, filling up the gaps in our state collections. The fund's main task is not to shut itself up in a shell.

"To expand its activities, the fund needs to earn money," Georg Myasnikov went on, adding: "For the time being we are rejecting cooperatives. We will open studios, look for other sources of income. By the way, we have unexpectedly earned large sums from exhibitions arranged by the collectors' club."

Although the club, uniting 150 Moscow collectors, was set up only in May, its third exposition is now on show. Not long ago it got its own exhibition hall in 15-a Karl Marx Street. Two expositions of this club will soon be sent abroad. Britain is awaiting for the exhibition "The Image of Women in Russian and Soviet Art," the Scandinavian countries—for the paintings by avant-garde artists of the 1920's and the masterpieces of old Russian art.

What is the use of buying new works of art if many of them are lying uselessly in the reserve stocks of museums? D. Likhachev did not agree with the way this question was asked by one of the journalists. There ought to be stocks in museums because they are not only depositories but also research institutions. Unfortunately, in museums one can observe an illness the name of which, as Likhachev put it, is establishment proprietorship. This must be eliminated.

At the press conference, it was reported that the fund will establish scholarships for the most gifted representatives of the humanities. U.S. businessman George Soros has made a donation to the fund to help Soviet specialists take cultural training courses abroad.

### Scholarship Fund Established

18000038 Moscow SOVESTSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 3 Oct 87 p 3

[Unsigned article: "In the Soviet Culture Fund"]

[Text] The presidium of the Soviet Culture Fund made a decision on the establishment of special scholarships of the SFK [Soviet Culture Fund]. Scholarship recipients may include not only students and graduate students but also young creative workers up to 35 years of age: artists, writers, actors, musicians, architects, designers and journalists. The main thing is that they be active adherents of the goals and tasks that the Culture Fund is setting for itself.

The SFK scholarship is paid out monthly for a period of up to 3 years in the amount of 100 to 120 rubles regardless of the wage, royalties or other income of the recipient. The recipient of the SFK can count not only on material support. At the expense of the fund's resources,

he will be given creative assignments and trips to conferences, symposiums and meetings within the country as well as creative assignments abroad for up to 3 years and short trips to different international humanitarian forums and festivals. The funds for the foreign on-the-job training of our students and specialists will basically come in under agreements with foreign nongovernmental organizations. Thus, the Soviet Culture Fund recently signed a contract with the foundation of G. Soros. G. Soros, an American businessman, is giving the fund substantial means for cultural exchange.

The fund will also contribute to the carrying out of personal exhibitions, authors' evenings and solo concerts of its scholarship recipients.

A recipient of the fund's scholarship must not only possess great talent but also high moral qualities. This will be reflected in the "Code of the Scholarship Student of the Soviet Culture Fund." If the scholarship recipient commits an action discrediting the honor and dignity of the Soviet individual, he is deprived of this title.

Ten SFK scholarships are designated for 1988 and their number will increase in the future. The selection of candidatures will be done publicly.

The well-known collector and specialist in the history of Russian art in the first half of the 20th century A. Nakov, doctor at Paris University, donated two artistic works to the Culture Fund—A. Ekster's "Still Life with a Landscape" and the architectural spatial composition of S. Lisim.

A. Ekster is one of the greatest artists of the Russian vanguard who for many years worked with A. Tairov in the Chamber Theater. The work donated by A. Nakov has great historical and artistic value, because A. Ekster lived in France beginning in 1923 and her creativity in this period is practically unrepresented in the museums of the USSR.

S. Lisim is a well-known Russian decorator who worked for many years with the French artist and pattern maker Puare. He preserves the Ekster archives and her works. A. Nakov donated both works to the Culture Fund in connection with the personal exhibition of A. Ekster that was first organized in Moscow by the State Central Theatrical Museum imeni A.A. Bakhrushin. The fund is transferring them to this museum for permanent custody.

9746

### Decision to Close Exhibit Hall Assailed

#### Lenin Library Move to 'Manege' Questioned

18000040 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 1 Oct 87 p 5

[Article by V. Olshevskiy: "What to Do About the Manege, or How to Make a Patch with Shagreen Leather."]

[Text] Do you recall that mysterious phantom from a Balzac novel, shagreen leather, a scrap of onager skin which disastrously diminished in the hands of its owner

as his desires came to him? Moscow's artistic life is in a similar situation -it has been likened to the shagreen leather from the pages of the great novelist: desires are expanding, but the range of possibilities is relentlessly shrinking. Take a look at how the artist today is drawn to the viewer, and the viewer to the artist, and the kinds of exhibits that pass through the capital one after the other! Let us take the present one for example, 70 years of Soviet Russian art. And how enthusiastically the public receives them! Tens of thousands of visitors came to the exhibit of Estonian artists -is that not an impressive number! Without doubt, exhibit activity is not only developing in breadth but also in depth and, in so doing, acquires unstoppable power, the "artist-viewer" formula, as is currently said, is replete with reversible connections. Let us recall the exhibit which was held last year at the Manege entitled "Masters of Culture -for Peace!" It became a place for discussions and meetings and a center of attraction for Moscow's youth. And if it is possible to interpret the type of spiritual communication that today's youth dreams of, it was the old Manege that offered that communication during the days of the exhibit.

However, the question of questions: what is to be done about Moscow's exhibit halls? Can we expect the necessary increase in exhibit locations?

No, the number of these locations is not increasing, it is decreasing, and at an ever-growing rate. The Tretyakovskaya Gallery? It appears that the upcoming generation will be deprived of Repin and Levitan. The new building for galleries on the Crimean embankment? Everyone knows what a cripple of a building the architects constructed, and for how long major repairs have dragged on! The proposed construction of an exhibit hall for the Russian Artists' Union? It is no end of trouble, there is no better way to describe it: the art of the country's multitudinous vanguard of masters of fine art has not found its haven in Moscow, and even the Russian Union's small exhibit hall at 46, Gorkiy Street is going to be closed. The Muscovites requested a suitable exhibit hall at the Arbat -the gorispolkom did not grant the request. The halls of the Moscow organization on Begovaya Street -if there has been one waiting line there over the years, there have been two or three hundred. The hall at 11, Kuznetskiy is also being prepared for major repair. The rayon exhibit halls cannot be counted, they are small and are used for other purposes, as a sort of art club. The smallish rooms at the Fine Arts Museum always show exhibits from abroad. What else? The proposed museum of private collections? The building intended for this still has offices firmly entrenched in it . . . One is being closed down, another is not opened, the only ones left are the Central Artist Palace and the Manege.

Left? No, they are not left? The Manege is being closed, it is being handed over to the Lenin Library. In a decree issued by the ispolkom of the Moscow Council, it was

stated that "... prior to completion of the reconstruction and restoration of the library buildings, for accommodating employees and organizing book storage."

Yes, the misfortunes of the main book depository of the country -our common woe. Figuratively speaking of course, everyone is contributing his piece of bread and the shirt off his back in order to save the Lenin Library. However, the issue is not one of saving! It is of where to put the library's books while it is being repaired. Why was the Manege chosen? Was it not simply because the Manege, the Central Exhibit Hall in Moscow, belongs to the Mosgorispolkom?

Let us go back thirty years to the fall of 1957. The author of these lines recalls how the huge hall of the Manege, which seemed to stretch endlessly into the distance and into the heights, was filled with the noise of construction machines and the flames of electric welding, and how truck cranes and cement carriers drove through the flung-open gate doors; the building was being renovated to house a Central Exhibit Hall which was unprecedented in Moscow. The first exhibit was "Soviet Russia." No, it was not simply an exhibit, it signified the birth of the Russian Artists' Union. Hitherto, all-Russian exhibits were held at the hall on Kuznetskiy. How much are you showing there? That is why it seemed that there were no more than one or two artists from oblast cities. But here a stream of names appeared, which made it necessary to cast aside the word "periphery", and for the first time the true picture of Russian art was revealed.

We confirm that the Manege is its cradle. All the "Soviet Russia" exhibits which have passed through it in the last thirty years are stages in the growth of the union. Let us add that under the Manege's roof artists from the autonomous republics of the Federation were encountered for the first time, and this was also an impressive panorama -a genuine discovery! -of the formation and development of national schools of the peoples, the majority of which did not previously have any professional art culture. Where would they have met, besides the Manege? And is another such meeting not desirable?

As for Russian exhibits, the Manege has become the paternal home for artists of the entire country. How many wonderful names from union republics it has made the property of the Muscovites, how it has brought together the artists of all our nationalities! The Central Exhibit Hall laid the foundation for the broad representation of all-union exhibits which were held on red-letter days and to mark famous events in the life of the government. Let us not neglect to mention the vulnerable aspects of these exhibits and their festive, ceremonial character; however, let us look at the matter in a broader context: for it was precisely by gaining access to the general public through these exhibits within the walls of the Manege that Soviet multinational art created its most recent history. It is impossible to count the streams of

visitors that have passed through the capital's main exhibit hall, and on how many millions of people the Manege has bestowed its beauty, spirituality and the joy of relating to art.

Now the Manege with which we are all familiar is no longer to be. This has all occurred at the height of planning for huge all-union exhibits and a whole program of exhibits drawn up by the USSR Ministry of Culture and USSR Artists' Union in connection with the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. We are calling them, "Seventy Years of the USSR Armed Forces", an exhibit of monumental art spanning the years of our government, an exhibit of the national and artistic handicrafts of the country, an exhibit to celebrate the anniversary of the Lenin Komsomol and an exhibit of easel painting, also spanning seventy years, entitled "The Artist and Peace."

Where are these exhibits to be shown, if not at the Manege? In the Palace of the Artist on the Crimean embankment? Apparently this extensive area was also taken into consideration when the decision was made to close the Manege. However, this would have meant breaking up the exhibit structure of the Artist's Palace, which has taken shape and become a tradition. This includes the special features of its exhibit activity, the means by which it enjoys popularity among the Muscovites, and the fact that, at the same time, it provides the visitor with a whole spectrum of artistic impressions: these include group and individual, foreign and youth exhibits of various genres and types of art; it is, if you will, a polyforum of Moscow artistic life, and there are no days when its walls are empty. But now imagine that this Palace of the Artist receives a huge, all-union exhibit from those planned by the program. Then that very appeal of the Artist's Palace to the diversity of viewer interests, which constitutes its attractiveness, is moved aside, and how many interesting exhibits will the Muscovites not be shown!

Let us recall something else. The exhibit of plans for the Victory Monument should be held only at the Manege, whenever a date is set: in March or April of next year. The walls of the Manege are already consecrated by the spirit of the memory of the war and of Victory, which brought hundreds and thousands of people here to participate in the discussion of the competitive plans. But by then, in the opinion of the experts, the Manege should already be under major repair, the building is shabby, but in six months it can be functioning again. The experts maintain that the repair could last as long as two years. In the present situation, the loss will be minimal, but that is providing the Manege is returned to the artists.

However, if the library funds are brought here, no one dares hazard a guess at the length of time it will take. In fact, the amount of time required to reconstruct and restore the library buildings, about which we do not yet have any objective information, and the very fact that

the book funds are to be evacuated, indicates the scale and character of the upcoming work. However, as a result, another worry has arisen: where to shift the base of the book funds. To a building which is in need of emergency repairs itself. This is the experts' conclusion: all the engineering services have become dilapidated, the foundations of the columns which were erected in 1957 for supporting the metal beams of the ceilings, which in turn are propped up by wooden girders 170 years old, have been eaten through, the girders themselves are rotten, the wood has been attacked by rot, the flagstone of the floor has been destroyed in many places, the ventilation is poor and the building does not meet the fire safety regulations. However, the fate intended for the holy of holies of the Lenin library, its book treasures, is good.

The ispolkom of the Moscow Council made a decision in 1984 concerning "Primary Measures for Eliminating the Emergency Situation of the Central Exhibit Hall", and although it essentially did not resolve a single serious question concerning the fate of the building, discussion of this issue was not even begun. This is directly in keeping with the saying: one ought not to pray, one ought to cover the pots. Or is the lesson of the damage caused to the buildings of the library by the metro builders, who literally stirred up public opinion, not enough? Will there now be a line for library books? A new misfortune is happening - what does it matter who the demand is from!

Why was the Manege chosen for the books in the first place? Any of us would laugh if he was presented with the objection that in all of Moscow no other place could be found. Take, for example, the ancient provision storehouses on Sadovoy Ring opposite the "Park kulturalny" metro station, a wonderful monument of architecture of times gone by, a creation of the architect, V. Stasov. This building could just as reasonably be used for the garage industry! The Soviet Fund of Culture, the Artists' Union and the Academy of Art have expressed their opinion on more than one occasion concerning transfer of the building for the cultural needs of the country, for an exhibit hall or a storehouse for works of art, which the artists of both Moscow and the entire country desperately need. For a start, the provision storehouses could quite easily take the library's book funds for the necessary length of time, they would meet these requirements not only with respect to their square footage but also with respect to their technical operation. In the final analysis we are not going to make any predictions, the fate of the provision storehouses should be decided in such a way that it accommodates the interests of the spiritual and cultural life of Moscow, and in order to do this, the decision which Moscow needs should not be delayed for a good dozen years, by which time the Lenin Library will be restored.

Well, what is to be done about the Manege? The planning for its reconstruction has already lasted a total of eighteen years. This sad epopee leads to a single reflection: a zealous master would not allow such time lapses. One

does not have to be an expert to notice with bewilderment and anxiety how cracks are making furrows in the walls of the old building, how the gypsum "beacons" are splitting in places, which causes the most anxiety, and how the thin roofing lets in rain and melting snow in the spring. I can recall an exhibit of Russian portrait painting, valuable things were on display and there were buckets and troughs in the hall. There was a downpour and water was dripping from the ceilings; attendants threw plastic sheets over the frames and hurried about the entire premises wiping up puddles. The existing restoration plan only "powders over" the shortcomings, but, in essence, perpetuates them, if after only a short time more restoration is required. The main thing, however, is that it is necessary to retain the unique wooden girders which support the roofing, because there is no one in the world courageous or eccentric enough to make an engineering decision which would suggest that the construction workers reroof the 45-meter area without using a single support. Replacing the ancient wooden girders with modern metal ones, even if they were made to look like a rarity without any specific function, would morally depreciate the monument of engineering art. However, here too, although there are plans to replace some parts of the wooden structure which have become useless, it is impossible to ensure that suitable wood can be found for the work, can you believe that no worthwhile wood can be found in Russia! In short, we are involved in a jumble of confusion, bureaucratic blindness, incompetent opinions, the logic of half measures and the making of decisions at the level of a trishkin caftan.

Oh, how similar in this whole story of the Manege is our native trishkin caftan to the shagreen leather of the French author's novel! However, now the Artists' Union and the newspaper's editorial board are receiving telegrams and the telephone is ringing off the hook, Muscovites and artists from the republics are alarmed. They cry with a single voice: save the Central Exhibit Hall of the capital for Moscow and for the country!

#### **Artists Protest Loss of Exhibit Hall**

18000040 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in  
Russian 10 Oct 87 p 2

[Readers' letters in response to the article of 1 Oct 1987 entitled "What to Do About the Manege."]

[Text] "What to Do About the Manege." This was the title of an article our newspaper published on October 1 concerning the forthcoming closing, under the decision of the ispolkom of the Moscow Council, of the Central Exhibit Hall of the capital and its use as a storehouse for the book funds of the Lenin Library. The publication of this information resulted in a stream of letters, telegrams and telephone calls to the editorial board. Moscow's artists are alarmed, the creative collectives of the union republics received this news with despair and large numbers of Muscovites with bewilderment: will Moscow be deprived of its beloved Manege, the customary place

to encounter art, the most popular institution among the people of the cultural life of the country's capital? Will the Manege remain an exhibit hall or has its fate been decided?

From a telegram from the secretariat of the governing board of the USSR Artists' Union:

In a situation in which Moscow's State Tretyakovskaya Gallery has been closed, the USSR Art Gallery is being reconstructed, the Historical Museum is under repair, other cultural centers are not functioning and the construction of new exhibit halls has not begun, the significance of the Central Exhibit Hall has increased immeasurably.

The USSR Artists' Union together with the USSR Ministry of Culture has developed a plan concerning the most important exhibit arrangements until the year 2000 based on the Central Exhibit Hall as the main exhibit site. The secretariat of the governing board of the USSR Artists' Union understands the significance and role of the State Library imeni V. I. Lenin; however, it believes that resolving the issue in this way contradicts the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee "On Measures Concerning the Future Development of the Fine Arts and Increasing Their Role in the Communist Education of the Workers."

The Lithuanian SSR Union of Artists is greatly alarmed by the news of the intention to deprive the country's artists of the Central Exhibit Hall in Moscow. The artists of Lithuania would like to inform the editorial board of the newspaper *Sovetskaya Kultura* that depriving Soviet artists of their main exhibit hall decreases the possibility of growth and consolidation of genuine creative cooperation between cultural workers of the union republics.

(Signed) **K. Bogdanas, chairman of the governing board of the Lithuanian SSR Artists' Union.**

We consider the decision to close the hall in Moscow where artists from the entire country exhibit their work and use the Manege as a book storehouse to be a mistake. The Manege requires major repair and cannot survive the storage of valuable book funds. Leningrad artists request that the ispolkom of the Moscow Council reconsider the adopted decision and view it as a contradiction of the resolution of the party and government concerning the development and improvement of working conditions for the masters of Soviet fine art.

(Signed) **M. Anikushin, Hero of Socialist Labor.**

The artists of Latvia are concerned about the situation with the Manege. Moscow should not be deprived of its center of artistic culture for all our republics.

(Signed) **D. Skulme, chairman of the governing board of the Latvian SSR Artists' Union.**

We, the employees of the Manege, were surprised by the decision of the ispolkom of the Moscow Council concerning the closing of the Central Exhibit Hall . . .

It is strange that today when we are deeply aware that success in developing socialist society should be correlated with man's personality and growth in cultural potential, the question should arise concerning the closing of the greatest institution of culture in Moscow. Bewilderment is also aroused by the fact that only one side has spoken in favor of closing the Manege, those responsible for the closing, however, do not consider it necessary to open this discussion to the public, probably not considering this question a problem of state importance.

(Signed) **N. Shmidt, director of the Central Exhibit Hall, Ye. Gorchakova, secretary of the party organization, O. Shapovalova, chairman of the profkom.**

Uzbekistan artists were alarmed by the decision to close the Manege. The Central Exhibit Hall is the only place in the country where the entire range of Soviet multinational art can be displayed . . . A more suitable place should be found in the capital for storing the books of the Library imeni V. I. Lenin, and artists and viewers should not be deprived of the most famous exhibit hall in the country.

(Signed) **B. Dzhalalov, chairman of the governing board of the Uzbekistan Artists' Union.**

My entire life has been associated with exhibit activity, therefore, I am sorely aware of the great misfortune the country will suffer if the Manege is closed. In the same way, using the Manege as a book storehouse should not be allowed! Do the employees of the library not understand that placing treasures valued by them in a building which requires emergency repairs itself is so harmful that it does not even bear thinking about!?

(Signed) **S. Yamshchikov, member of the Presidium of the governing board of the Soviet Fund of Culture.**

For every Soviet artist, the Manege represents the possibility of working creatively in art, for artists of oblast cities it represents even more. Art without a large audience is pointless. The lack of a main exhibit hall in the center of Moscow would reduce to zero the work of all easel painters, sculptors and artists of other specialities.

(Signed) **M. Ombyshkyznetsov, laureate of the Lenin Komsomol Prize, Novosibirsk.**

The Manege has come to represent a university of art education for me and how many happy hours I have spent inside its walls over the past years! And am I the only one? I see many of my peers every time I go to exhibits at the Central Hall. It can be understood how difficult it is for the Moscow Council, which made the decision to close the Manege, to find a suitable place to

store the books, but I hope that the problem will be solved in a way which will not deprive the Muscovites of their spiritual tradition in the form of works of art.

(Signed) **Polyakov, Muscovite, age 27.**

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### **Avant-Garde Art of 20's Featured In Moscow Exhibit**

*18000076a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Nov 87 p 3*

[Interview with S. Ivanitskiy, chief of the Soviet Portrait Section of the Tretyakov Gallery, conducted by N. Kishchik]

[Text] Petrov-Vodkin, Kandinskiy, Malevich, Falk, Tishler, Filonov, Goncharov, Nesterov, Korin... Canvases by 120 artists are on display in a huge hall at the All-Union "State Tretyakov Gallery" Museum Association, currently located on Krymskaya Embankment.

Among them are works by the artists who were the members and organizers of numerous associations during the post-revolutionary period: the Akhkhrovisists, the Ostovists... Naturally those pictures which have been in storage and are now being exhibited for the first time are of particular interest. And there are such pictures even from renowned artists we would seem to know very well. It turns out that Chagall painted pictures which have never been shown. In this exhibit his works "Skripach" [The Fiddler] and "Svakha" [The Matchmaker] are being shown for the first time. They were painted in 1920, while Chagall was designing the interior of the Jewish Theater. The canvases were not signed by the artist at that time. He saw them during one of his visits to Moscow and confirmed that it was he who had painted them.

[Ivanitskiy] In the new exhibit there are over 170 paintings and 30 sculptures. First are agitational posters printed in the years immediately following the October Revolution. We would like to present a cross-section of that complex period showing all the tendencies, trends, factions and creative individuals which comprised it. Because during the 15 years following the October Revolution there was a broad opportunity for competitive development of various trends in the arts. At that time there appeared stylistic tendencies and groups which were diametrically opposed and mutually exclusive. Extreme examples of avant-garde art are brilliantly represented in the exhibit: from the expressionist abstractionism of Kandinskiy, who brilliantly depicted the Revolution on canvas, to a 'branch' of painting which has become famous around the world — that of Malevich, the founder of geometric abstractionism... Also represented are cubist works, cubo-futurist works... Such as, for instance, Konchalovskiy's "Portrait of a Fiddler"

[Portret skripacha], where the artist froze two or three phases in the movement of hands and bow, allowing the viewer to see that movement...

We are also illustrating the development of realism, which was very important for that period. It is represented in works by the Association of Artists of Revolutionary Russia (AKhKhRA): Cheptsov, Arkhipov, Mal-yutin and Grekov (one of the founders of Soviet military painting). Grekov's famous painting "Tachanka" [The Machine-Gun Wagon] is on display. In the hall where the exhibit begins everyone's attention is drawn to "Novaya planeta" [A New Planet] by Yuon, which symbolizes the birth of a new world. Next to it hangs a portrait of V. I. Lenin by Kelin, painted at the end of the 1920's from life sketches and therefore especially valuable to us. The Society of Stankovists, which included Deyneka, Pimenova and Denisovskiy is well represented, and visitors are quite familiar with their work. We sought out works which were a realization of Lenin's plan for monumental propaganda...

[Question] How long will the exhibit remain on display?

[Ivanitskiy] We would like to keep it indefinitely. And we hope that it will become part of a permanent exhibit when we return to the main building of the Tretyakov Gallery after renovation work there is complete. Here on the Krymskaya Embankment all the spacious halls will be turned over to a wide-ranging display of the art treasures created during the Soviet period.

Even in such a major exhibition as this we have left out much which is of value. We are displaying only some of the works by the generation of the first 15 years following the October Revolution which we have in our possession. If we had enough room we could show the interaction among various art forms which was typical of that period, interaction between painting, sculpture, graphic art, agitational porcelain, posters, design... In our next exhibit we will present as complete a display of the graphic art of that period as we have done with painting in this exhibit.

[Question] If this exhibit is a permanent one and will be substantially expanded, can we hope that someday there will be a Petrov-Vodkin Room, a Falk Room or a Korin Room? Because you do have many of their pictures in storage...

[Ivanitskiy] Yes. They were acquired not only in the distant 1920's from the artists themselves. Currently we are receiving pictures from their heirs and from collectors. So far we do not have the rooms which you mentioned, but we will be arranging exhibits of works by individual artists. There are also plans for an interesting lecture series on art from the first years of the Soviet State. We will conduct thematic evenings including individual exhibits of the masters of the past.

[Question] But, as with all truly interesting art, it would be wrong to present the work of the artists of the 1920's only to the residents of the capital and its guests...

[Ivanitskiy] Works from the Tretyakov Gallery are constantly on tour around the country. We have plans for more of these traveling exhibits.

...The exhibit was painstakingly prepared and its choice of archival materials was good. Among those materials were booklets from exhibits of the 1920's. But so far no booklet on this exhibit has been printed...

12825

### Rock Music, Avant-Garde Painting Assailed As 'Anti-Art'

18000076b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Oct 87 p 3

[Article by M. Savitskiy, People's Artist of the USSR: "What Have We Lost?"]

[Excerpts] Minsk— The USSR Artists' Congress is approaching. How is restructuring proceeding in that creative union, and what problems concern masters of the fine arts today? Those questions will be the main ones at the upcoming congress.

The moral perfection of man is foreign to this objective of art, or that which they attempt to call art today, it does not exist, it has been transformed into its opposite.

Yes, anti-art — a phenomenon born of a civilization based on consumption. This phenomenon of anti-art consists of affirmation of man's loss and the aimlessness of his existence. Aggressivity and primitivism camouflaged as accessibility, false profundity, an orientation toward consumption rather than content: all these make anti-art an extremely effective means of moral decay. Furthermore, when moral criteria become blurred, anti-art and mass culture are received and accepted considerably more easily and receive exceedingly widespread dissemination, for they are contrived to satisfy "demand" rather than encourage participation in cognition. It is quite natural that it is considerably easier for undeveloped minds and senses to accept this surrogate in place of genuine art, which requires both spiritual culture and the ability to perceive, i. e. great effort of mind and senses.

Tremendous harm has been done to the cause of raising moral people by the fact that, sadly, for many years we have been taught to think that art is merely a means of "cultural leisure" and that aesthetic education is only a "makeweight" to education. Hence entire generations of people who are strangers to serious art and, consequently, to a serious attitude toward life.

Nature abhors a vacuum, and anti-art has begun to spread menacingly, like a cancerous tumor, eating away at people's spirits, molding inert, unthinking consumers. As it satisfies the requirements of this undemanding market, anti-culture also expands that market in a most active fashion, penetrating every field of artistic endeavor.

Let us take a look at a phenomenon like rock music. It is an extreme manifestation of "mass culture" and, like anything which is extreme and antihumanistic it essentially appeals to man's animal nature, plunging into the realm of uncontrolled emotions and reducing thought to the level of instinct. Frenzied "metalists" and rockers, roaming on motorcycles through the nighttime streets, young people adorned with primitive symbols: realities in our society. Sad realities, the result of our shortsighted policy with regard to moral education. Here I feel that I must quote from a statement made by A. N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at a meeting of the party aktiv in Kaluga; it contains ideas paralleling my own: "Everything which appeals to dark instincts rather than to a consciousness enriched by millennia of civilization, everything which is based upon an ideology of violence, on arrogant disregard for other people and for life itself: all this cannot by its very nature be art. Tolerance of this sort of 'mass production' and its decadent effect cannot be allowed, cannot be allowed for the sake of man and his future."

Nevertheless take a look at television, popular entertainment and newspaper journalism: are they barring the progress of anti-art? Consider recent articles dealing with rock music, which now has patrons without number.

Its adepts invariably accuse me of being conservative, having stagnant thinking, lacking a sense of innovation and attempting to hold back the winds of change. Following the principle of "the guilty dog barks the loudest," those who were responsible for the era of stagnation are the first to cry for change. Both mass culture itself and the bureaucratic fuss surrounding it are two sides of the same coin: neglecting morality and downgrading the role of genuine art. The policy of bans merely results from fear of the fruits of their own actions. It makes no sense to ban rock music, just as one should not drive a disease inward into the body. One cannot fail to see how the apologists of mass culture are attempting to monopolize the truth and acquire from their bureaucratic fathers the right to hang out their shingles and take their places, with nothing but the terminology changed.

A distorted understanding of art and man, cosmopolitanism, a desire to dictate and cynicism with regard to cultural property: all these together comprise the essence of anti-art. This system of views is most fully reflected in so-called "avant-garde" painting. Here we see the same picture: rejection of goodness and beauty as the primary spiritual foundations of life lead to affirmation of anti-morality, an absurd system of values and the upbringing of people with a distorted view of life.

These problems are not merely of concern to art specialists: the arts are the most important means of molding people, and pluralism in this area is impermissible. One cannot declare sickness and health to be equal. Yet what are we seeing? In the pages of magazines and on our television screens a massive attack on realistic art is under way. We are doing nothing to counter this propaganda. Yet they are already dictating to us what is true and what is false, and the next step will be a desire to allow only themselves and those like them to remain in the arts.

That is the practice of anti-art, that is its logic. It is astounding to see what meaningless exhibitions are being put on in Moscow and in other cities by our half-baked "avant-gardists." Those are the places where the destruction of reason, spirituality and beauty is taking place, yet these exhibitions are being portrayed as the latest thing in art! So why are efforts being made to make these modernist ravings "accessible" to viewers by disguising them with various sauces and camouflaging them behind profound pronouncements? Why have we become ashamed to call a spade a spade, why have we become so reverential toward phenomena which are alien to our way of life?

I am not in favor of "forbidding" things, but I do favor preventing our art specialists and critics from bowing and scraping before the apologists of modernism; I would like to see the latter countered with substantial, well-reasoned opinions.

The need for art is a constant of our spirits. Art has permeated every cell in the social organism. In those places where it cannot function normally due to our lack of comprehension the healthy tissue is replaced by tissue which is pathologically changed; art's place is taken by rock music and rock painting. And painstaking work is needed to build up our immunity to anti-art.

Yes, this is an axiom: a society steeped in and brought up on healthy art is a morally healthy society.

The policy of glasnost has, by removing barriers, naturally also made it possible for the hidden opponents of restructuring to speak out. Typically their statements in the press are of an extremist nature. Authors whose services to the study of art, to criticism and to art itself are highly dubious are taking the liberty — either directly or through caustic allusions — of defaming those writers and artists who appeal in their work to the values accumulated by our culture through the ages. Let us speak frankly: that is disrespect for an artist's right to seek the truth.

Our goal should be to take everything which we require and work long and painstakingly on our cultural heritage. But that — work — is precisely what the dogmatists of philosophy and aesthetics are incapable of doing. Our losses are already too great, the price of inaction is too great; we will have to pay dearly for that inaction.

Today it is essential that we have a comprehensive program for aesthetic education of the people. There is no way to resolve the problem of how to mold people and give them a moral education without an all-encompassing program of this type. It should pertain to all areas; it should return art to people's lives, transform the educational system and restore beauty to our cities. Art should accompany an individual from childhood on, become a part of his labor and day-to-day experiences, adding profound meaning to labor and life and transforming everyday life into an Existence!

Development consists of more than economic growth. It must be all-encompassing, reaching every member of society, every individual. It is in human beings that the welfare of a country and the strength and greatness of a people lie. We cannot bring about progress toward social truth without serving truth, goodness and beauty. Beauty as the highest value is essential in the social transformation of society. It will protect people's spirits from seduction and impoverishment and open the way to art which is true and immortal.

12825

**Editor of 'TEATR' Reveals Publishing Plans**  
*1800025a Moscow in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 87 p 7*

[Interview with Afanasiy Salynskiy, editor-in-chief of the journal "TEATR", time, place, and interviewer not given]

[Text] In response to readers' requests we are continuing our series of interviews with the editors-in-chief of literary journals.

[Question] Afanasiy Dmitriyevich, after a hiatus of 5 years you are once again heading 'TEATR.' What do you see as its main directions, its goals today?

[Response] A set of themes associated with the theatrical process, its history, current state, and future are infinitely great. But the current social and cultural situation is such that we deal exclusively with what is internal to the theater. To a certain extent, we see the journal as a general cultural one, even an artistic and political one.

[Question] But, nevertheless, are there not certain dominant directions in the work of 'TEATR'?

[Response] Of course. First and foremost, we are concerned with drama. Today our editorial portfolio contains plays by A. Volodin, Yu. Edlis, M. Vorfolomeyev, L. Ustinov, and L. Likhodeyev, and are awaiting a new work by A. Gelman and V. Rozov. We reached agreement on the publication of these works long ago.

Recent Soviet drama is attracting special interest today. And the fact that its great treasures were kept off the stage for many decades does not decrease their significance for the contemporary theater. Our readers will find the famous "Mandat" by N. Erdman in this year's October issue and in one of next year's first issues a heretofore unpublished play by A. Platonov, "The Street Organ." We plan to publish a play by Nazym Khikmet, "To Be Or Not to Be." We will resurrect our feature, "Library of World Drama." The only problem we have is deciding what to start with. But since we have to choose a play from among the brilliant works by J. Joyce, E. Ionesco, E. Robles, D. Thomas, and E. de Filippo, it would seem hard to go wrong.

We intend to make more frequent use of the genre of the overview — we will publish such material constantly. As early as December, we will publish an article by A. Smelyanskiy, analyzing the results of the past season. But, of course, reviews of individual plays will still play an important part.

In almost every issue this year, we printed articles by specialists in the area of theater administration and theatrical practice, analyzing the status of the experiment being conducted with the nation's theaters and related matters and discussing various ideas on how to further improve the situation. Now, the time has come to draw conclusions from the first half of this experiment.

Theatrical life in the capitals does not shield us from the problems of the operation of theaters in more remote areas. "In the theaters of Siberia and the Far East," although not a new feature, will be given a special place in our columns. We hope that we will succeed in returning to such forms as a comprehensive investigation of theatrical life in one or another republic.

We will not neglect theatrical prose. One of our most venerable dramatists, A. Shteyn, will be represented with a charming story. In his story, "In Love and Terribly Famous," Ye. Markov tells of the tragic fate of an actor. Our editorial portfolio contains the memoirs of I. Rom-Lebedev. I. Smoktunovskiy has offered us his reminiscences of the war and postwar years.

Readers may possibly be surprised by our publication of a detective novel by an author from New Zealand, N. Marsh, "It's Your Move, Murderer." But the fact that the mystery is "theatrical" in theme explains our interest in it.

[Question] While you are on the subject of features under 'TEATR's' familiar rubrics of "Plays," "Library of World Drama," and "Theatrical Prose," have there been any innovations in the make-up of an issue of your journal, its "composition"?

[Response] I will begin with the area of social and political commentary. Pieces by L. Vasilyeva, V. Gubarev, E. Vetemaa, and M. Baydzhiev under the rubric of "Freedom of Speech," discuss restructuring in culture, theatrical administration, and drama, as well as ethical problems and complex issues relating to international communication.

We propose to bring to light a number of interesting documents relevant to dramatic moments in the nation's history, particularly the history of the development of Soviet literature and art which had previously been buried in the archives and libraries. They bear the imprint of fierce conflicts of ideas and character and of deep contradictions.

Returning to new features, let me tell you about "Press-studio on Bolshaya Nikitskaya [Street]. This is the brain child of a group of young students of the theater, critics, and journalists who have set themselves the goal of studying the studio theater movement and informal associations.

[Question] Many readers are particularly interested in information on the theater abroad, and in modern trends in foreign art as a whole.

[Reply] We are aware of this and, insofar as we can, are endeavoring to satisfy the demand for this type of information. Our journal has, we believe, a very useful tradition involving publishing "exchange" issues with various foreign publications. We currently have more proposals for this sort of thing than ever before, from our colleagues from virtually all the socialist nations, the Mexicans, French, and from the theatrical journal of the Cameroons, representing the African theater, and others. In addition, we invite foreign students of the theater, critics, and journalists to participate in our discussions, and tell us about artistic issues in their nations.

We have already discussed foreign plays. Let me add that we have plans to publish the most important and interesting works of living and dead practitioners of the theater abroad — E. Kregg, A. Arto, J. Streler, and their views on theatrical arts, theatrical theory, etc.

In conclusion, I want to say that our previous experience (and we turned 50 this year) points to the need for restructuring in our operation of this journal. We must evaluate the current state of the theater in our nation, realistically and from a sober critical position. We must find ourselves a place in the most socially beneficial processes of democratization of culture, and development of openness (glasnost). When we do this however, we will not seek the sensational. Thirst for popularity at any price, to the decrement of depth of analysis of vital material, and of a serious, professional approach to artistic phenomena is alien to us. However, we will try to make our conversation with our readers incisive, controversial, and frank, to match the spirit of our Times.

9285

**Director Clarifies Status of 'Dr. Zhivago' as Play**  
*18000025b Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Oct 87 p 2*

[Article by Georgiy Tovstonogov, executive director of the Leningrad Academic Bolshoy Dramatic Theater imeni M. Gorkiy: "Without Sensationalism: The Theater's New Season"]

[Text] Our past season was characterized by use of contemporary plays. Our Malyy (Little) Theater staged "Zhanna" by A. Galina and Yu. Andreyev's "Cocktail Waitress from a Discotheque," a one-person show, with A. Freindlikh in the leading role.

We also performed "Theater of the Time of Nero and Seneca" by E. Radzinskiy, again because it has a contemporary flavor. We have been reproached and asked why we chose a play evoking painful associations with the cult of the personality era. I answer that this was done consciously. It is important for us to understand the significance of the epoch of the cult of the personality in our history.

At the end of the last season, the young director, S. Yashin, who was recently named executive director of the Moscow Theater imeni N.V. Gogol, staged in our theater "I Built a Home," by the young dramatist and writer V. Pavlov. Building a home for one's family is important, but it is even more important to "build a home" within oneself. The "home," as you will have guessed, is a metaphor for the human soul. We opened the season with this play.

Our next play was "The Lower Depths" by M. Gorkiy. I saw this drama as a meditation on mercy and humanity. "The Lower Depths" is Gorkiy's best play and, I think, the actors of the Bolshoy Dramatic Theater, were ideally cast in it.

Our society has shown increased attention to the problems of youth, problems which are urgent, disturbing, and demand immediate solution. At present, in our opinion, there are no worthwhile plays on this topic, and so we decided not to wait for the appearance of such a play, but to stage an old one, "Evening Games" by A. Zak and I. Kuznetsov. Of course, there are things in this play which are dated, but this is not true of the questions which are posed. Young people are the best authorities on their own problems and so "Evening Games" will be put on by young people.

Our next work will be "Love and Treachery" by Schiller.

Of course, one would most like to see the heroes of today, the heroes of restructuring on the stage. A. Gelman has offered us his new play "Coffee with Cognac," a work, metaphorically speaking, about the restructuring of man

himself. In the Malyy Theater the apprentice directors will stage "Red Corner" by M. Rozovskiy and "Wilderness" by A. Krasnogorov. We plan to finish the season with "Sunset" by I. Babel.

As you see, the season will be a full one, even more so because work on the plays will be interrupted by major tours to India and Japan, and also a creative evaluation in Moscow where we will present our best productions.

The papers have stated that I wanted to produce "Doctor Zhivago." One article was even sensationally headed "Doctor Zhivago and others." Sensationalism is not called for! This shows the poor taste which, nowadays, many people cannot refrain from. One of the authors associated with our theater, the poet V. Retsepter, is working on a stage version of Doctor Zhivago. This is a task which requires a great deal of hard and painstaking work. Is sensationalism called for here? It is simply a matter of working conscientiously, trying to capture in art the epoch which we all witnessed and participated in.

9285

**Tsvetayeva's 95th Birthday Prompts Bibliographic Summary**

18000025c Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 10 Oct 87 p 4

[Unsigned article: "The Pages of the Calendar"]

[Text] Ninety-five years have passed since the birth of the outstanding Russian poetess, Marina Ivanovna Tsvetayeva (1892-1941).

She was born in Moscow into a family devoted to the interests of science and art. Her father, I.V. Tsvetayev, a professor at Moscow University and a renowned philologist and art expert, later became the director of the Rumyantsevskiy Museum and founded the Museum of Fine Arts (now the State Museum of Decorative Arts imeni A.S. Pushkin).

Marina Tsvetayeva began to write poetry when she was 6 years old, not only in Russian, but in French and German as well. And when she was 18 she published a collection of lyric poetry, "Evening Album." One of the first to respond to this book was Valeriy Bryusov. A strict arbiter of poetry, he wrote in his 1911 review, singling the young poetess out from among the devotees of pure art: "The poetry of Marina Tsvetayeva, on the other hand, is always triggered by some sort of actual fact, something real that she has experienced."

The young poetess, at the very beginning of her career, already displayed the traits of creative independence which made it difficult not to notice her, not to single her out. "Her concision of thought and emotional energy can be felt in many of the poems of this period, e.g., "You go by, resembling me...", "Grandmother," "Where did such tenderness come from?..."

Two additional collections followed the first, "The Magic Lantern" and "From Two Books." But these already contained the rudiments of her future skill in the use of the entire spectrum of her native poetic language.

Marina Tsvetayeva did not comprehend the revolutionary events of 1917, for a time she immersed herself in narrow literary circles, and emigrated in 1922. At first she was accepted in emigre circles as a kindred spirit, but then attitudes toward her changed sharply as people sensed the her antipathy to her new surroundings.

In one of her darkest moments, Marina Tsvetayeva wrote bitterly, "my reader remains in Russia, where my poems cannot reach. After I emigrated, they published me at first (in the heat of the moment), but then, coming to their senses, they took my works out of circulation, sensing that I was not one of them — an alien."

She had achieved this perception at great cost. Struggling bravely with poverty and illness, suffering from moral isolation, Marina Tsvetayeva lived until the terrible days of Hitler.

In 1939, the poetess, having been granted Soviet citizenship, finally returned to her native land.

Marina Tsvetayeva left a significant creative legacy: her books of lyrical poetry, 17 long poems, eight poetic dramas, and autobiographical, memoir, and historical-literary prose. Many of her works have been translated into all the European languages.

9282

**Amateur, Experimental Theaters Found to be Lackluster**

18000051a Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 3 Oct 87 p 2

[Article by B. Tikh, festival jury member: "Who's Who in the Amateur Theater"]

[Text]

**The "Top League" Is Formed Anew**

In July in Moscow, within the framework of the 2nd All-Union Folk Creativity Festival, an Amateur Theater Week was held.

Somewhat earlier, starting on 1 January of this year, the leading amateur collectives in the capital were granted the status of experimental theater-studios operating on a cost-accounting basis.

Actually that meant a sharp change not only in the life of those collectives, but also in the country's entire amateur theater movement. The Southwest and On the Boards studios, the M. Rozovskiy and V. Spesivtsev studios, and others were the "top league" of the Soviet amateur

theater. It is precisely those studios which, to the highest degree, carried within themselves the principle of alter-nativeness, the striving not to imitate the professionals, to follow their own path. And that pertained to every-thing — beginning with esthetics and ending with orga-nizational matters. For a long time those studios have stood far above the customary amateur level. They have deserved their current status. It is simply that the struc-ture of theatrical affairs at the present time has become incomparably more diverse than previously. Previously there used to be amateurs and professionals. Now there have arisen between the "pure" professionals and the "pure" amateurs a number of intermediate links: exper-imental collectives that have been organized on the basis of various principles, that are dissimilar either to the solid "real" theaters or to the traditional folk theaters.

Naturally, the experimental studios did not participate in the festival week.

Among the 28 theaters that arrived in Moscow, there also proved to be absent several folk theaters which have been operating for a long time and in a well-principled manner as amateur collectives proceeding from other criteria than those used by the professionals. The Lenin-grad Saturday and Blue Bridge theater, the Lvov Gau-deamus theater, the Ivanovo Theater of Folk Poetry... Why did they not manage to come to Moscow? Obvious-ly, that question can be answered only on the spot.

Be that as it may, the 28 collectives that performed in Moscow became candidates to the "top league" of ama-teur theatrical art. True, their level was very varied and, in addition, some of the theaters had to be ashamed of their productions, but it invariably happens that any top league includes collectives who have gotten into it by happenstance.

#### **"Alarming Symptoms"**

I feel that I had been fortunate. I saw only one frankly weak theater (from conversations with other jury mem-bers I learned that there had been about a half-dozen of such outsiders).

The Contemporary Man folk theater from the city of Temirtau presented A. Volodin's "The Lizard." The play was depressingly hopeless. And it was unbelievably pre-tentious: the director had attempted to combine drama with pantomime within a single staging, and he had ended up with neither. It was completely unclear why the theater had accepted that play.

Sometimes the jury differed sharply in its evaluations. In the case of "The Lizard" from Temirtau, the jury mem-bers were absolutely unanimous. The basic difficulty lay in having to convey to the participants in the most tactful manner the bitter truth about their work. And although the jury managed to cope with that, the director and the performers remained convinced that their play

was a remarkable one (after all, they had been perform-ing it successfully back home!), and the jury was nitpick-ing for some unknown reason!

In this respect the theater from Temirtau was not alone. Among the amateurs (and, incidentally, also among the professionals) there are collectives that are absolutely intolerant of any criticism aimed at them.

I happened to meet one such collective — the folk theater of the Belsovprof [Belorussian Association of Trade Unions] DK [House of Culture] — a bit earlier, at Stage Harvest-87 in Tartu. The people from Minsk were so convinced that they were right that the idea even popped into my head: if all of us suddenly stumbled into the jury, we would not be able to see their merits. In Moscow the theater from Minsk presented V. Vill-Belotserkovskiy's "Assault." The play was analyzed by T. Rodina, doctor of artistic studies, who is one of our country's leading specialists on the theater. Her evalua-tion was extremely critical. On this occasion also the collective proved to be dissatisfied with the level — that's right, the level! — of the analysis.

Another theater that took umbrage at the criticism was the Kaluga Folk TYuZ [Children's Theater], which per-formed "The Choice," one of A. Dudarev's first plays. This play contains very serious miscalculations: the characters are faced with a choice in situations in which there cannot be any choice at all. For example, a tank is proceeding along a mountain road. Suddenly a child appears in front of it. What should the people do: continue traveling ahead and run over the child, or attempt to drive around the child, although in that instance the tank would definitely fall off the precipice? For a normal person the answer is clear. But at the festival that problem is discussed seriously for two hours, with the theater putting in motion all mechanical tricks to squeeze the emotions out of the audience. And since the actors in the theater group are good, infectious ones, they almost succeed in doing what they set out to do. But later they fail to understand why, instead of the cheering that they have become accustomed to hearing back home, people find fault with their performance...

Of course the crux of the matter here lies not in the performers, but in the artistic administrators, who incul-cate in the amateur performers an infatuation with themselves, a conviction that everything that was done by the collective is wonderful. This is one of the most alarming and most unpleasant diseases, and one that can harm the theater. And it makes no difference whether it is amateur or the professional theater.

#### **"Position"**

Many theater groups came to the festival week with plays dealing with problems that alarm society as a whole today. They attempted in various ways to resolve those problems. Many attempted cautiously, shhily. The Kiev Actor Folk Theater attempted cautiously to play M.

Shatrov's "Dictatorship of Conscience," a play for which that approach was absolutely counterindicated. But most of the collectives that attempted to perform timely, socially significant plays were typified by the attempt to carry things to the very end and display civic boldness. This can also be said about the Narva Satirical Folk Theater, which came to Moscow with a staging of F. Dyurrenmatt's comedy "Hercules and the Augean Stables" (director O. Kreyson), and the Lvov Folk Theater imeni Lenin Komsomol (director V. Rader), which performed Yu. Martsinkyavichyus' tragedy "Mindaugas." But the most brilliant impression — and this probably is not accidental — was produced by two plays which, in the form of a sermon, dealt with the thin line that is separating mankind from nuclear catastrophe and the great danger that is represented in our age by irresponsibility, arrogance, and hatred of everyone who, for one reason or another, is different from you. Those were plays which, in one way or another, reflected the new way of thinking. The thinking of the post-Chernobyl period.

Both the Kaunas Folk Theater of the DM of Trade Unions and the LGU [Leningrad State University] Leningrad Theater proceeded in their plays from material that was rather modest in the literary sense. The people from Kaunas brought to Moscow the very same play that had brought them success in Tartu at Stage Harvest-87 — the staging of the farce "The Demon Has Moved In," by French playwright M. Faure. The people from Leningrad brought the drama "The Beast," by V. Sinakevich and M. Gindin. The people from Kaunas changed a chamber play with three characters into a play with a very large cast, and the mass scenes became the best ones in the entire staging. The people who see before themselves a madman who is dreaming of conquering an entire district, concludes a deal with the devil, and purchases from him a personal-use atomic bomb, become the subjects of that maniac and the victims of his arrogant attitudes. The scope of the playwright's craft changes: a chamber farce is changed into a global tragedy.

The play presented by the people from Kaunas (director A. Kibartas) ends with the explosion of an atomic bomb. The play presented by the Leningraders tells us what can happen after a nuclear catastrophe. (In this sense it echoes the movie "Letters from a Deadman"). Mutants roam around the land that has been converted into a desert. The mutants are people who have lost all ties with the experience accumulated by mankind during its history, but who have preserved their hostile distrust of those who seem alien to them.

Back home the university theater presents that play in a basement, moving from one room to another. The audience follow behind the actors, repeating the path taken by the characters in their wanderings. And when, at the finale, the audience comes out of the basement "onto the surface," they see the traces of the last antiwar demonstration on an earth that was overtaken by catastrophe —

bodies heaped on the floor, posters strewn all around. This is the most emotional shock that arouses people's thought processes, that forces the viewer to understand that no one will perform for him his share of participation in the work that is aimed at saving mankind...

#### How Do We Look Against the Overall Background?

Fair. Our amateur stage does not have any plays of the level of "The Beast" or "The Demon Has Moved In," but our representatives do not yield to most of the participants in the festival week. Although the Narva Satirical Folk Theater, unfortunately, performed more weakly in Moscow than it usually does. First, "Hercules and the Augean Stables" is a play that was intended to be played in the open air; in an auditorium it has lost much, and certain theatrical effects have simply disappeared. Secondly, that which continues to us to seem desperately bold does not seem to be such in Moscow.

In a word, the people from Narva (who undoubtedly are today the leading amateur theater in Estonia) did not win any laurels, but they did not fall face down in the mud either.

But if one takes not the leading collectives and, instead, rates the amateur theatrical creativity in Estonia as a whole, it will have to be admitted that our folk theaters are very traditional, are very much oriented toward the professionals. True, many other participants in the festival week also sinned in this manner, but ought we to be consoled by that?

5075

#### Union of Theater Workers Formed in Estonia 18000051b Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Oct 87 pp 1, 3

[ETA report: "The Last Congress Is the First Congress: The Union of Theater Workers Has Been Created"]

[Text] The 7th Congress of the ESSR Theatrical Society was not "run of the mill." It summed up the results of what had been done and placed the final dot on that, and at the same time also became a reference point by giving birth to a new creative union in the republic — the ESSR Union of Theater Workers.

The crux of the matter is not just the change of name, but in the new content. ESSR STD [Union of Theater Workers] is a fully entitled creative union that has been given large plenary powers in organizing theatrical life and that bears a large burden of responsibility for the ideological and artistic level — and, in general, the professional level — of the plays and concerts. The Union protects the interests of the theater workers and actively promotes the restructuring of the theater along the path of those revolutionary processes which are occurring throughout our society.

That is why, in addition to delegates, all the members of the ETO [Estonian Theatrical Society] were invited to the congress. That is why the discussion at the congress proceeded in an especially businesslike and frank, as well as sometimes impartial, manner, with many people becoming the objects of criticism — theater collectives, the press, organizers of theatrical life, and the administrative party and state agencies in the republic. However, all the discussions that took place at the congress was imbued with the ardent self-interestedness that its participants had in the most rapid resolution of the urgent — and frequently long-overdue — problems of developing the Estonian theater.

The polemics that arose first of all dealt with the charter of the new Union, and its relationships with the theaters, cultural agencies, and other organizations. In particular, lively discussion centered around the status of the Bureau of Propaganda of Theatrical Art and the ESSR Theatrical Foundation, questions of membership in ESSR STD and the Theatrical Foundation, their financial interrelationships, etc. These topics were mentioned by R. Mikk, M. Mikiver, Yu. Viyding, R. Allabert, M. Rayk, T. Gustel, and others.

### The Object of Art Is Man

The development of *glasnost*, speakers at the congress emphasized, has led to a situation in which the theater can relieve itself of the function of informing people about the vitally important problems of social life, can cease filling in the gaps left by journalism, and can ignore the production conflicts that have set our teeth on edge, and now can turn to the subject forms the very basis of theatrical art — man and his inner world. It is not events in real life, transferred to the stage, that determine the immediacy of the staging, but the refraction of those events in people's awareness, psychology, and way of life. Life, for example, shows us that the restructuring is being resisted not only by the bureaucratic segments. A stratification in this questions has also occurred in the working environment. Stagnation has distorted its psychological attitudes also, and has given rise to such phenomena as money-grubbing, the attempt to grab a bit more than others, the desire to live calmly and comfortably, faintheartedness, subservience, etc.

These very complicated phenomena, V. Beekman remarked, proved much food for thought, both for literature and the theater. Drama is born not only in the conflict between the innovator and the backslider, but also, and primarily, within the person. Penetration into a person's soul is complicated, but it is necessary.

There have been many discussions about the slump in theatrical art. As E. Baskin said, the theater has simply become tired. It has become from the *diktat* that has been well established for many years, it has become tired from the need, in its stagings, to consider somebody's subjective opinions, sympathies and antipathies, and personal tastes. And when the theater got rare minutes of

rest, it gave birth to plays that are worthy of it. Another era has arrived and the theater is simply obliged to return to its original intention, to the intransitory values of theatrical art, the main one of which is man's inner world.

### Exclusivity Is Pernicious

The existence of an exclusionistic national theater in our day and age is unthinkable. A theater that has shut itself off from the worldwide theatrical process is doomed to vegetation. For the time being, speakers at the congress emphasized, the Estonian theater is not threatened with this fate. As A. Mikk and a number of other speakers remarked, during the period between the ETO congresses there has been a considerable expansion of the geography of the guest roles performances by our republic's theater groups in our country and abroad. And if we add to this the guest role trips made by individual directors, conductors, singers, and ballet performers, it will become obvious that Estonia's theatrical art is being infused in the most direct manner into the worldwide and nationwide theatrical process, and, in turn, is being enriched by the experience of other theatrical cultures. An important role in the process of interenrichment is played also by guest performances in our republic by theatrical groups from various parts of our country.

The most direct contribution to the process of cultural exchange is being made by the republic's Theatrical Society. The ETO has organized and financed creative trips and participation in various kinds of seminars and creative workshops. There have been frequent evenings to promote acquaintance with the Estonian theaters and theater workers at the Central Home of the Actor in Moscow and at the Palace of Cultural Workers in Leningrad and our republic's theater workers have taken part in measures organized by the International Theater Institute and other international organizations.

However, the creation of the new creative union poses the task of searching for new opportunities for expanding the ties. And those opportunities exist. As was reported by T. Randviyr, the plans of the USSR Union of Theater Workers include a very large number of interesting seminars and festivals where Estonian theatrical figures will also be worthily represented.

It is precisely under the ESSR Union of Theater Workers that an information center must be formed, where it would be possible to acquaint oneself with video recordings of the outstanding productions of worldwide, including Soviet, theatrical art, and with the best plays produced by our republic's theaters. It is extremely necessary to have a theatrical library with collections of Soviet and foreign periodicals, dramatic works, and literature pertaining to the theater.

It is necessary to expand the direct contacts with the theaters in the socialist countries by following the experience of the Vanemuine GAT [State Academic Theater], and to include, as part of the groups that are to travel abroad, critics and technical theater workers.

### The Experiment Continues

As is well known, eight out of the ten professional theaters in ESSR are participating in a nationwide experiment that has the goal of testing the new organizations and economic principles in the activity of theatrical collectives.

The creation of the creative Union, which provides its members with a number of new rights, as well as the experiment, are leading to a change in many of the traditional relations within the theatrical collectives.

For example, there has been an expansion of the rights and the responsibility of the theaters for the formation of the repertoire. But in the resolution of these questions, Kh. Krumm, R. Allabert, E. Toman, and others said at the congress, it sometimes happens that within the theater insufficient consideration is taken of the collective's opinion. The situation with regard to the formation of the creative staff is imperfect. In a number of theaters the re-election is held formally, whereas in others it causes sharp conflicts, insults, and even squabbles. E. Toman, for example, recommended that these questions be resolved not by the artistic council, but by an authoritative certification commission with the participation of representatives of the creative Union.

The democratization of theatrical life, E. Baskin emphasized, does not mean that the theater does not need a leader. Everyone remembers the TYuZ or Tallinn GAT of Drama, led by Voldemar Panso; the Vanemuine, led by Kaarel Irla; and the Estonia Theater, led by Antsa Lauter. The very same Theater imeni V. Kingisepp today graphically proves what a theater without a leader can develop into. This is all the more reason why it needs the new Union.

The speakers, including E. Kharmakyula, Yu. Viyding, and others, mentioned the development of contract relations, up to and including the staffing of a troupe with the especial purpose of putting on a specific production, and therefore they proposed creating under the ESSR STD a manager organization operating on principles of cost-accounting. They remarked that the playwrights themselves must go into the theaters, offer their works, and cooperate both in the process of creating them and in the process of preparing the play.

### Without Professionalism There Can Be No Success

The congress participants devoted much of their attention to questions of cadre training and the raising of their proficiency level. At the present time the training is conducted along the line of various departments and is

not always fruitful. The congress participants welcomed approvingly the recommendation that was made by K. Komissarov, of creating on the basis of the Scenic Art Department of Tallinn State Conservatory and the School of Cultural-Educational Work or Tallinn Pedagogical Institute, the ESSR State Institute of Culture, converting it into a research center dealing with the history and prospects of development of the republic's cultural life. It is necessary to take urgent steps, in order to provide training and refresher training for the actors, to have an instructional stage.

V. Kuslap in his statement directed attention to the fact that recently our republic's young vocalists have been performing extremely modestly on the nationwide and international scene. The reason for the stagnation lies in the poor initial training at musical schools, where the cadres are frankly weak. It is necessary to increase the exactness toward the instructors, and their responsibility for the professional fate of their students. On the other hand, there are as yet very few opportunities for improving the skills of our singers in other union republics or abroad. And even those that do exist are being used poorly. It is necessary to make it a broader practice to have people work on a probationary basis in theaters outside the confines of the republic, and to expand the creative exchange with collectives abroad, and particularly noncurrency exchange with the theaters in the socialist countries.

### Criticism — An Ally and Assistant

Theatrical criticism has been called upon to play a tremendous role in restructuring the theater, but, as Yu. Yarvet, Ya. Allik, K. Kask, R. Agur, and others stated, in our press it currently is quite random, and for those who are making the theater, this is not only lamentable, but also insulting. Essentially speaking, theatrical criticism is being held as a hostage by the cultural departments of newspapers and magazines, and no one engages in coordinating it — neither ETO, nor the Ministry of Culture. It is necessary to create under ESSR Union of Theater Workers a criticism lab, and to staff it with competent cadres. That lab must keep under its scrutiny the entire theatrical situation in the republic, and must act as the intermediary between the critics and the editorial offices. The forthcoming staffing of the Union apparatus can resolve, if only partially, a problem that has existed for years — the problem of the lack of professional critics. At the present time the reviews are written, so to speak, on public principles. The appearance of staff critics is of special importance for the theaters in the outlying areas, since many of them are simply indignant because of the lack of interest in their work.

In our republic at the present time, statements made by approximately 40-50 persons are perceived as theatrical criticism. Practically everyone who wants to do so can speak in the press, expressing any opinion, whether it is

correct or erroneous, but that statement will be neither criticized or discussed. Therefore certain reviews in the newspapers resemble complaints made to housing managers.

Readers expect from the review not so much the discussion of the production itself, as a commentary on those vitally important problems for which the review served as the point of departure. It is especially important — and this is one of the basic indicators of professionalism — to be able to choose what to write about in a daily newspaper and what to write about in special publications, what to talk about on a television program and what to talk about at a critics section or at a jury session. The critic must know how to choose for his statement the proper time, place, and tone, in such a way that his opinion will be beneficial to theatrical art, and this is possible only in the event that the critic truly loves the theater, rather than only himself and his own opinion.

The contacts between the critics and the theater workers must be much closer. The critics and theater workers must meet regularly, must discuss not only the productions, but also the reviews, and must be close partners in the overall job of raising the level of theatrical art.

The history of the theater requires broader and deeper study. At the present time only 150 people filling staff billets at the Institute of History, ESSR Academy of Sciences, are directly engaged in this.

#### Not By Spirit Alone...

The congress participants spoke with great alarm about the material base of the Estonian theater. They are concerned by the state of the theater buildings, or, more precisely, the shortage of them. True, prospects were revealed for building a TYuZ and the State Puppet Theater, but the path to real construction is still far away. The Rakvere Theater and the Russian Dramatic Theater are in serious need of remodeling. The Old City Studio has been in existence for seven years, and during that time, in the area of Ratushnaya Ploshchad, where the studio is located, accommodations have been found for four restaurants and the Society for the Fight for Sobriety, which is fighting for meaningful recreational activities without alcohol... However, the studio, which engages precisely in activities to supplement those activities, does not yet have a roof over its own head, and the question of finding that roof is being discussed "understandingly" at the most varied administrative levels with identical ineffectiveness. A proposal was made at the congress to re-equip for the purpose of housing that theater the Oktober movie theater.

Many of the speakers mentioned the technical backwardness of the stage, the lack of modern apparatus and lighting equipment. It is high time for every theater to have its own video apparatus.

Problems that were raised with no less seriousness in the statements made by K. Toom, M. Kristal, and many others involved the payment of the labor performed by the actors and various categories of stage workers. The currently existing system of payment is obsolete and threatens the theaters with a loss of experienced, well-trained cadres.

The theatrical veterans place many hopes on the newly formed creative Union. It is no secret that the pension system for theater workers leaves much to be desired. Not all the theatrical collectives show any concern for their comrades who have retired to a well-deserved rest.

And, finally, something that is desperately needed is an Actor's House — not only as a professional club, but also as an important means for propagandizing theatrical art.

The proposal was made that, after the new building for the Estonia GAT is completed, its old accommodations be transferred for use as a Friendship of Peoples Theater, where regular guest performances could be given, including those by the theaters in the outlying areas of the republic.

The constituent congress of the ESSR Union of Theater Workers listened to six reports, and a total of 35 persons spoke during the discussion periods. Dozens of recommendations were made, and they were taken into consideration in the congress resolution. The new creative union has been created in an atmosphere of broad democracy and **glasnost**. However, the course of the congress indicated that at times one still sees the effect of customary stereotypes, and that people have to learn how to live and work under conditions of democracy. And this is one of the tasks of the ESSR Union of Theater Workers.

5075

#### President Elected for New Theater Workers' Union

18000051c Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 1 Oct 87 p 3

[ETA report: "The Congress Has Completed Its Work"]

[Excerpts] On 30 September the debate continued at the constituent congress of the Union of Theater Workers.

Speeches were made at the congress by R. Ristlaan, secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian CP, and by M. Toome, deputy member of the Buro of the Central Committee of the Estonian CP, Chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers.

The congress adopted a resolution that defines the chief trends to be followed in the activity of the new creative union.

An election was held to fill positions at the administrative agencies of the ESSR STD [Union of Theater Workers].

Thereupon the congress completed its work.

At the first session of the board of the ESSR Union of Theater Workers, M. Mikiver was elected chairman, and A. Mikk, first secretary.

R. Allabert was elected chairman of the auditing commission.

5075

### Use Of Video To Teach Russian In Uzbekistan Proposed

18000058a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
6 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by M. Zakirov, movie director: "Video Today and Tomorrow: The Birth of a New Muse"]

[Text] At the end of the last century or, more precisely, on 28 December 1895, in a cafe on the Boulevard des Capuchins in Paris the brothers August and Louis Lumiere showed the first motion pictures, announcing to the world the birth of a new type of art: the cinema. And now, at the end of our own century, the blue light of video screens shines in numerous cafes and bars. Is video perhaps becoming another form of art?

It is surprising that both types of art were first seen by viewers in cafes. There is still no widespread network of video movie theaters, and videotapes of famous rock groups are attracting viewers to video salons, cafes and disco bars.

Motion pictures have left the cafes and moved to theater screens. And videos will in turn leave the cafes and bars and light up the screens of a multitude of video theaters.

This is one of them: a small, comfortable auditorium with somewhat of a domestic look. Silent air conditioners blow in cool air. An amiable woman offers drinks and various juices. The auditorium fills up quickly — there is seating for only 20 people. We take our places in the soft armchairs, the lights go down, and the movie begins...

One of the first video auditoriums in our republic, this one has three showings daily and is a part of the Movie Theater imeni Alisher Navoya in Chirchik.

"We always have plenty of customers; the tickets sell out in minutes," says D. A. Khodzhyan, director of the theater. "Viewers like to watch movies in the video salon, and that means additional profits for the theater. We dream of turning the Antoshka Movie Theater,

which is housed in the passenger compartment of an old airplane, into a 'videoliner,'" jokes Dmitriy Artemovich. "We are hoping to get some assistance from our republic Goskino."

Yes, video movie theaters are taking their first steps. The first are already in operation in Tashkent, and Almalyk, Angren and other cities in Uzbekistan are next in line.

Around the world videos are now in competition with movies and television. Outstanding filmmakers like M. Antonioni, F. Coppola and F. Fellini long ago took a serious interest in videos, developing their aesthetic and artistic potential and revealing their specific capacity for expression.

In this country we are still taking the first timid steps in that direction. Time has been lost, and that has led to a lag in the technical level of equipment and the final product and to economic losses. And, more importantly, opportunities for ideological influence, propaganda, educational work and development of the arts have remained unutilized.

Currently steps are being taken to make up for that lost time. Production of the necessary equipment is being started up, and there are plans to expand opportunities for showing videocassettes. USSR Goskino has established the "Videofilm" All-Union Creative Production Association and has even approved a program for filming a total of 300 hours of new videos during the 1988-1995 period.

As they say, that is all still in the future, but even now we need to take a look at long term prospects.

What is the priority task in this area? Broad, universal utilization of videos in schools, particularly in rural areas, where the level of instruction is still not up to modern standards.

If schools' movie theaters and labs were equipped with videocassette equipment, then instructors and masters of production education could use videos in their lessons to present readings pertaining to their curricula. Showing graphic images and films — screen versions of literary works and lectures by leading scientists on timely problems in science — would facilitate in-depth knowledge and help students with vocational orientation and their choice of careers.

At a recent meeting of the UzSSR CP Central Committee Buro the question of how to improve the teaching of Russian in our republic was discussed. The need to better satisfy the growing demand for instruction in the Russian language by the population of our republic was pointed out, and a comprehensive program on the Russian language was approved.

Among the measures included in that comprehensive program a major role will be played by the creation of textbooks, courses and home-study materials on the Russian language on videocassettes. These cassettes, prepared with the aid of experienced specialists working in conjunction with creative workers — scriptwriters, directors, technicians and popular actors of stage and screen — will consist of scenes, dialogues, special conversational practice and other methods of language study, all of them presented in an interesting, entertaining and accessible form which will aid in successfully mastering the Russian language.

As the educational reform is implemented, sometime in the distant future schools will be equipped with the latest technical teaching devices, in which a large role will be played by video projectors. We must begin preparing for that program now. UzSSR Goskino has established a department which is in charge of the development of the video industry in our republic. The work of that department is beginning to take effect.

Thanks to videocassettes people living in remote villages in our republic will have an opportunity to see new movie releases at the same time as people in the capital do. Clubs outfitted with equipment for showing videos are profitable, modern and convenient — this was proved by the residents of remote settlements of oil and gas workers.

As we see, development of the video industry, as well as video culture as a whole, involves numerous aspects: economic, ideological, political, legal and production-related.

One particular problem relates to videocassette production. The demand for videocassettes around the world is increasing every year. In our country almost all existing motion pictures are being put on videocassette. But that is not enough. Our country's movie studios are now working to create films directly on videocassette. The first video movies have already been released by Studio imeni A. Dovzhenko, Lenfilm, Mosfilm and the Central Studio for Documentary Films [TsSDF]. As for the filming of video movies by studios in Uzbekistan, that is evidently regarded as a long-range goal.

Yet our republic possesses great creative potential and is capable of creating large-scale and complex artistic, popular science, informational, educational, sports and entertainment programs on video. Uzbekfilm Studio, Uzbektelefilm and our studios for documentary and popular science films have the necessary equipment for making video programs which would be of interest to our viewers. If we do not make them here in our republic, no one is going to make them for us.

At the initial stage such programs could be filmed as movies and subsequently transferred to videotape. Later, after the establishment of a republic-level "Videofilm" Production Association as a department of Uzbekfilm

and after acquisition of the necessary equipment for direct filming of video programs on videotape, production of all types of video programs will be substantially accelerated, production cost will decrease and quality will improve. The "Videofilm" Production Association could operate on a basis of full cost accounting and self-support and produce a profit.

When making video programs it is essential that we take into consideration the fact that the individual viewer will be the primary video consumer, and we must bear in mind the diversity of the individual viewer's tastes and interests. Such programs will be watched by the whole family. There will be interest in entertainment as well as in educational programs on such subjects as dressmaking and sewing, household hints, driving lessons, foreign language study and music lessons. Some people will be interested in film versions of literary works, others will want to watch detective films, and still others will like historical films. Many people like song-and-dance reviews, satire and humor — the list goes on and on. There is room for imagination on the part of those who produce video programs. And experts in the field of motion pictures and theater, as well as young creative talents, must be recruited to help. It is no secret that many cinematographers, directors, actors and technicians sometimes have a great deal of idle time between pictures. Making videos would give them an opportunity to do a great deal of productive work in search of means of creative expression in this new field of screen art.

Video culture, just like movies and theater, must become a part of our multiethnic culture, the development of which is the task of all our republics.

The establishment of a republic-level video production association would be in line with party and government decisions on the development of video production in our country.

12825

#### **Komsomol Prize Awarded To Soldier Killed In Afghanistan**

18000058b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 4 Nov 87 p 4

[Article by Anatoliy Ivanov, chairman of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Commission on Komsomol Prizes for Literature, Art, Journalism and Architecture: "The High Flight of Creativity"]

[Excerpts] As always, the new recipients of Leninist Komsomol Prizes in the fields of literature, the arts, journalism and architecture were announced on the birthday of the Komsomol.

This year the Komsomol committees, cultural organs and political organs of the USSR Armed Forces nominated 80 persons as candidates for prizes in the aforementioned areas (32 individual nominations, 37 ensembles and collectives and 11 creative groups); the nominations came from six union republics, Moscow, Leningrad and 22 krais and oblasts in the RSFSR.

It should also be noted that in its work this year the commission complied strictly with the "Statute on Acceptance and Review of Nominations for Leninist Komsomol Prizes In the Fields of Literature, the Arts, Journalism and Architecture" which was approved by the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee; this statute pertains to deadlines for the submission of works for consideration, age of prize candidates, etc. The statute requires a maximum age of 35 for prize eligibility. Exceptions to this rule are only made in the case of two prizes, those for children's literature and for major work pertaining to the aesthetic education of young people; in those instances the age of prize candidates is not taken into consideration.

Among the winners of the Leninist Komsomol Prize for this year I would like to mention the name of Aleksandr Stovba first of all. He was awarded the prize posthumously. Lieutenant Aleksandr Stovba died a hero's death in Afghanistan while performing his internationalist duty. He was posthumously awarded the Order of Lenin for his heroic feat.

In the field of literature the Leninist Komsomol Prize was also awarded to two talented young writers: Mikhail Shchukin, a prose writer from Novosibirsk, and Mikhail Andreyev, a poet from Tomsk.

The main and specific themes in the work of these young writers are the theme of love for one's region and for the socialist Motherland and the theme of friendship among peoples and a high degree of internationalism.

For major work with regard to the aesthetic education of young people and for the creation of highly talented literary works for children and young people, Leninist Komsomol Prizes for this year were awarded to poet Feliks Chuyev and composer Yevgeniy Martynov and Yevgeniy Krylatov.

The names of Ye. Krylatov and F. Chuyev were not included in published lists of candidates for this prize, but both of them had previously repeatedly been nominated for this prize and were rejected for various reasons.

This year the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee's Prize Commission, after careful study of their work and overall consideration of their many years' of fruitful efforts in the field of aesthetic education for young people, decided to recommend that the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee award all three applicants the high title of prize recipient.

For major work toward the aesthetic education of young people a Leninist Komsomol Prize was also awarded to the Moscow Military Music School.

This year there were unfortunately no representatives of the journalistic field among the recipients of the Leninist Komsomol Prize, as the applicants did not meet the age criterion.

As readers have noted, the following new paragraph has now been included in the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Bureau resolution "On the Awarding of 1987 Leninist Komsomol Prizes In the Fields of Literature, the Arts, Journalism and Architecture":

"The collective of the Old Bolsheviks' Chorus of Leningrad is to be entered in the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee's Book of Honor on account of its major work in the field of communist education of young people. A number of other candidates nominated for prizes in 1987 have been awarded certificates by the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee."

The All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Commission on Leninist Komsomol Prizes will continue to recommend that the Komsomol Central Committee award Komsomol certificates of merit to those candidates among prize applicants whose work has made a notable contribution to the development of Soviet literature, journalism and culture.

On behalf of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee Commission on Leninist Prizes I wish all the recipients of the Leninist Komsomol Prize a high creative flight and new accomplishments.

12825

**Literary Compilation Addresses Problems In Society, Economy**  
18000058c Moscow *SOVETSKAYA KULTURA* in Russian 15 Oct 87 p 5

[Article by A. Kanykin under the rubric "Books": "Personal Opinion"]

[Text] The collection of work by publicists entitled "Personal Opinion" ["Lichnoye mneniye. Sbornik pisatel'skoy publitsistiki." Sovetskiy pisatel Publishers, Moscow, 1987] is a remarkable book. It would seem that virtually all the stories, essays and poetry which comprise the book are familiar to readers of the press, yet taken together they have acquired a new quality and become something which can boldly be called public opinion. The book has seven sections, and each is prefaced with thesis from the Political Report to the 27th CPSU Congress. The editors' task was to show the scale of the problems cited in those theses, and that task has been performed quite fully and convincingly. In this small book there is abundant analysis of the basic spheres of the spiritual and material life of our society.

Questions pertaining to the health of the human spirit and popular memory, the tragic lessons of Chernobyl and the efforts of those who drew up plans to divert our northern rivers, timely issues in the fields of machine building and agriculture: no matter what sore points the authors touch upon their attention remains focused on human beings. And through specific examples we are once again shown what efforts will be required of all of us in order to overcome stagnation and develop democracy in each work collective and in society as a whole. Those are the primary concerns of the authors of this book, among whom are our leading literary figures: V. Kaverin,

L. Leonov, G. Baklanov, A. Voznesenskiy, R. Gamzatov, D. Granin, Yu. Drunina, Ye. Yevtushenko, V. Karpov, D. Likhachev, Yu. Nagibin, B. Oleynik, V. Rozov, V. Rasputin, N. Starshinov, Yu. Chernichenko and many others. The social cross-sections given in this collection affirm the stake which each of us has in the global processes of restructuring and show how we look on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and how we will perhaps be tomorrow.

12825

**Rekunkov Writes on Restructuring Procuracy**  
18000074 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
ZAKONNOST in Russian No 10, Oct 87 (signed to  
press 29 Sep 87) pp 3-10

[Article by A. Rekunkov, procurator general of the USSR: "Reinforce Legality and Legal Order by Practical Deeds"]

[Text]The 4 June 1987 resolution of the CPSU Central Committee entitled "Measures to Increase the Role of Procurator Supervision in Reinforcing Socialist Legality and Legal Order" is one of the important steps being taken by the party to democratize the life of society, strengthen discipline and organization, and ensure reliable protection for the constitutional rights and legal interests of citizens. It is being put into effect under conditions where the June 1987 Plenum summarized the political results of restructuring and defined the party's tasks for a fundamental reorganization of management of the economy.

Each person working in the procuracy must be deeply aware of the distinctive features of the times in which we are living and have a clear idea that the radical transformations taking place in the life of the country are impossible without increasing the constructive role of law and legality in the interests of more successfully carrying out the tasks of accelerating the country's socio-economic development and maximally activating Soviet people in the struggle against everything that hinders the forward movement of our society.

The 4 June 1987 resolution of the CPSU Central Committee creatively elaborates Lenin's ideas of socialist legality. It is a definitive and developed program of action for the procuracy, which has an important place in the system of state organs expected to ensure legality and legal order. The resolution gives a critical, objective, and fair assessment of the serious shortcomings in the activities of procuracy organs. It is not just that during the growth period of negative processes in the 1970's and early 1980's the USSR Procuracy and its local organs were unable to ensure full performance of their assigned functions; today too outdated tendencies continue to exist in the work of the procuracy.

It is for precisely this reason that the CPSU Central Committee considers a radical restructuring of the work of the USSR Procuracy and its collegium and local procuracy organs to be necessary, with a definite improvement in the style, forms, and methods of their activity.

The tasks which follow from this CPSU Central Committee resolution, which is very important in the history of the Soviet procuracy, were thoroughly discussed at an expanded collegium of the USSR Procuracy on 29 July of this year. The report and statements at that meeting

showed the possibilities for a radical restructuring of the activity of the procuracy and outlined the principal ways to carry out the tasks posed by the party.

The most important thing now is to create all the necessary conditions for active, aggressive, and productive work in the primary element—the city and rayon procuracies.

The principle of centralism, which has great constructive significance when the specifics of the procuracy supervision are considered, has been misinterpreted by some procuracy executives. Planning has generally been done only from above and local initiative has been very inadequately considered; this has inevitably led to masses of paperwork and illusory activism. The system of work evaluations that was in effect until recently taught cadres to be overcautious and made them want to cover themselves with formalistically conducted measures; it decreased accountability for the assigned work.

Under such conditions it was impossible to expect that the creative potential of procuracy-investigative employees would fully blossom and that efforts would be concentrated on the main thing—achieving real results in eliminating violations of legality and their causes.

Therefore, we must begin with radical changes in the work of the rayon element, understanding that the main burden of bringing the party political line into contact with real life falls on its shoulders. At the present time the procuracies of cities and rayons do a great deal of unnecessary, useless work. Thousands of unsoundly started cases are dismissed after great efforts and expenditure of working time. Because of failure to think matters through and lack of any need for procuracy intervention, supervisory measures often not only do not lead to elimination of violations of legality, but actually cause harm—they upset people and take them away from work. And what is the rush after indicators for supporting state indictments in court worth? Many indicators of procuracy activity give a picture of the scale of this activity only, not its practical return. In this connection it has become necessary to refine our statistics.

It is urgently necessary to rid procuracy organs of empty work, work done for show. Restructuring means concrete actions directed to making practices more efficient, aimed at eliminating the sore points that prevent us from strengthening legality and legal order.

It is equally important to rid the city and rayon procuracies from petty overseeing and innumerable assignments and commissions; this will significantly revitalize their work. Inspections should generally be comprehensive with mandatory practical assistance or they should be done following specific warning signs. The rayon element must be brought out from under the pressure of localism; we must respond to any attempts to pressure procurators when they are deciding questions within their jurisdiction and any attempts to interfere in the

investigation of criminal cases. City and rayon procurators should feel constant support from above and act as representatives of the Center. The criteria for evaluating their work should be: showing initiative and independence, carrying work through to the end, coordinating their measures with the work of party and soviet organs, relying on the community, and taking public opinion into account. Plus how firmly they stand on legality when carrying out supreme supervision, how they respond to citizens' petitions and complaints, and how they themselves observe legality.

The USSR Procuracy is now posing the specific question of increasing the accountability of republic, kray, and oblast procuracy executives for progress in radical restructuring in the rayon element. This is because they have too often employed office methods of management instead of live contacts with the rayon element. By taking an administrative attitude toward the rayon and embellishing the true situation when reporting to the Center, the oblast and republic procuracies have to a large degree lost their connecting role in carrying out party directives and the demands of the USSR Procuracy. This is where the breakdown in the centralized system of procuracy supervision occurred. The republic, kray, and oblast procurators must move away from outdated and rigid stereotypes and overcome the force of inertia, the paper swirl, and lack of sectorial coordination in managing the rayon element.

The foundation of restructuring should be a fundamentally new style of work in which practicality is combined with a scientifically tested approach to performing the assigned tasks, so that departmental interests give way to business-like interaction of all criminal law and monitoring organs, so that generalizing conclusions with a preventive orientation can be drawn from procuracy actions. After all, the procuracy has no work which does not demand preventive measures.

Restructuring demands that we put an end to underestimating the role of legality and the capabilities of the procuracy in breaking up the mechanism that retards socioeconomic development and holds back progressive transformations. We must operate here from the idea that the activist posture of the procuracy should be a constant factor in establishing order. We must not avoid critical, burning problems, no matter how difficult it may be to solve them. And above all we are obliged to draw lessons from the recent past. It was precisely the lack of militant qualities and high principles and the inability to withstand local pressures that brought down the former procurators of Uzbekistan (Burikhodzhaev), Kirghizia (Dryzhak), Alma-Ata Oblast (Nurmanganbetov), Denpropetrovk Oblast (Andriyevskiy), Irkutsk Oblast (Rechkov), and Chimkent Oblast (Gapich). Some procurators became essentially blind executors of the will of certain local leaders who used them to take revenge on people they did not like.

The radical restructuring of the work of the USSR Procuracy and its collegium will above all take the path of carrying out long-range programs of dynamic development of all sectors of procuracy supervision by subject; effective participation in refining legislation; effective supervision over the legality of enactments by USSR ministries and departments; ensuring uniformity of legality and equality of all before the law throughout the country; brining the chief orders of the USSR General Procurator into line with the principles of the January and June 1987 Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee and the CPSU Central Committee resolutions of 20 November 1986 and 4 June 1987.

This should become the starting point for the procurators of the republics, krays, and oblasts. And they themselves must show the maximum creativity in radical restructuring, eliminate stagnation phenomena, and formulate their style and methods of work and monitoring and checking on performance on a fundamentally new basis. All these things are in motion today. Life will constantly pose new problems for the procuracy. Therefore, during restructuring it is important to increase the accountability of both the executives of subdivisions and members of the collegium of the USSR Procuracy, on the one hand, and the procurators of the republics, krays, and oblasts on the other.

The primary challenge is to shift the center of gravity to improving general supervisory work. This is now the decisive sector which determines the legal and political maturity of our cadres. Unfortunately, general supervision at present is ineffective because of an inability to identify the main problems and bring real influence to bear toward solving them. Many procuracy executives do not go deeply into the organization of this work and because of their simplified approach they do not know what return can be gotten from it and how. When defining the scope of general supervisory work for themselves, procurators often try to make it directly dependent on the state of legality, stepping in for economic managers, legal services, and monitoring organs, sometimes taking over functions that are not properly theirs. The endeavor to encompass each and every thing without considering the incoming warning signals and reports of violations of the law has given rise to unnecessary scattering of efforts and lack of system.

The need for a qualitative rise in the level of general supervision is dictated by the situation: on the one hand there has not been a radical turning point in improving protection of public wealth and rooting out theft, bribery, and violations of state discipline. In a number of regions of the country the scale of the so-called "shadow" economy is growing, cases of drunkenness have become more frequent, and speculators, idlers, parasites, and petty thieves—people who live at the expense of honest laboring people—feel they have a free hand. On the other hand changes are extremely slow in coming in the work

style of many economic managers, local organs, and officials; their activism in the fight against negative phenomena is not always felt.

Under these conditions all available levers must be used, including the additional powers given by the 16 July 1987 Ukase of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet entitled "Amendments and Additions to the USSR Law on the USSR Procuracy," to see that:

—primary attention is focused on carrying on active supervision of officials' performance of their duties, using the full arsenal of procuracy powers and especially the order on eliminating open violations of legality and warning that violation of the law is unacceptable, while giving them necessary help and taking an active part in the work of collegial management organs;

—violations of legality are promptly identified and stopped, always attempting to really eliminate them and compensate the state for the harm caused;

—the materials from general supervision and investigative work are used fully to work out and implement coordinated actions with all interested departments, and where necessary make suggestions to party and soviet organs;

—people learn to work in conditions of democracy and glasnost, because general supervision work will be unsuccessful if it continues, as before, to turn only to the apparatuses of administrative organs, if the procuracy's measures do not rely on the vast potential of labor collectives.

All procurators and investigators must know the situation thoroughly, study economics, be familiar with the legal mechanism of the economic reform, bearing in mind that unconsidered, incompetent actions may have extremely undesirable consequences. We cannot permit the mistakes of the past where enterprising, aggressive people who recognized the need for restructuring and the economic and social challenges of the day often became the victims of departmental bureaucratism and outdated rules and instructions.

We must be guided by the clear, simple approach formulated at the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: all unclear points in the matter of legality or illegality must be completely eliminated. The general legal principle that "Everything which is not prohibited by law is permitted" must be applied more widely.

The Law on the State Enterprise is intended, as we know, for actions under conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing. The transfer of all enterprises to these principles will be accomplished in 1988-1989. Contradictions may arise between those who have already switched to the new working principles and those who

are in the Procrustean bed of old instructions. This is a difficult time for lawyers, because these kinds of legal relations were not encountered before.

It was in this very connection that General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee M. S. Gorbachev observed that the tasks of procuracy supervision are growing enormously. This obliges us to think through the system of practical measures again and again, so that actions to strengthen legality in the economy meet the high demands of the party.

Where should we begin? What should receive priority?

The transformations that will be carried out in the management system concern primarily the main element of public production, the enterprise or association. It is among the production collectives that material assets are created and economic and social challenges are met. And it is at the enterprise that negative phenomena in the economy and the consequences of violations of legality show themselves most graphically and painfully.

We learned this during inspections at the AvtoVAZ, Elektron, Rubin, Krasnoyarsklesprom and Chelyabinsk Footwear associations, the Michurinsk Motor Vehicle Aggregate Plant, and many others. Therefore, the procuracy must learn first of all to protect enterprises against administrative manipulation and bureaucratic perversions, and against restrictions on the broad rights given to them by the Law on the State Enterprise. There must be full-fledged legal guarantees of compliance with this law not only by higher-ranking management organs, but also by local governmental agencies which sometimes use all sorts of proper-appearing pretexts to keep giving enterprises assignments without regard for their rights and capabilities. Unfounded instructions, orders, and decisions must be identified and appealed promptly.

It must be remembered that not everything can always depend on the enterprise and the rayon or city procurator. Many things are decided at the oblast, republic, and sometimes even USSR level. In those cases the centralism of the procuracy must operate dependably, that is, all its elements must become involved to resolve the conflict, overcoming local and departmental influences at all levels. We cannot hope that the positive changes in conditions of radical reform of management will occur almost by themselves. The procuracy must wage an uncompromising struggle against theft of socialist property, violations of plan and contract discipline, deception and production of poor-quality output, pollution of the environment, and any other manifestations of mismanagement and waste.

The position of chief consulting specialist is being introduced in republic, kray, and oblast procuracies to ensure competence in carrying out supervision of compliance

with the law in the national economic sphere. The knowledge of these officials will help pick out the key problems and make legal levers more effective in preventive work.

The additional rights that have been given to the procuracy must be used in a timely, thoughtful manner, in strict conformity with the law. These rights are: to assign appropriate organs to make inspections; to issue orders to eliminate flagrant violations of the law; to keep strict track of the stay of action on appealed enactments and review of the procurator's protest within the time established by law; to make active use of the warning.

The times demand constant interaction with soviets of people's deputies, monitoring organs, and people's control so that actions taken in the main areas of strengthening legality in the economy are coordinated and do not substitute for or duplicate, but rather complement one another. At the same time life confirms that for a number of reasons the monitoring organs often bypass violations of legality. In such cases procurator intervention is required.

It is impossible today to seriously improve our results without glasnost and relying on labor collectives. The procuracies in Leningrad, Bryansk, Kharkov, Sverdlovsk, Latvia, Estonia, and elsewhere have already accumulated considerable experience in this work. But for the country as a whole the results of inspections are only reported to labor collectives in one-third of the cases, and the rest travel along "office" channels. It must be taken as a rule in all timely issues to consider public opinion, consult with the people, so that the entire society participates in strengthening legality. The only thing is that this must not be turned into a formalistic procedure. Each time that we turn to the people for advice or support they should be informed of the results of consideration of their suggestions.

Restructuring must constantly be backed up by practical deeds, introducing progressive and effective forms of work more widely and completely. They should become a living reality in all procuracies. We all have to understand that a new stage of constructive work and vigorous, purposeful actions has arrived. We cannot tolerate the situation where two procurators are working side by side in an oblast or republic and one moves ahead, gets results, while the other, out of passivity and dependent attitudes, continues to follow the beaten track of irresponsibility. The June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee spoke very clearly on this point: "Those who wanted to restructure have already done so and gotten to work. But those who were not permeated with an understanding of the new challenges continue to grasp at old ways and by their inaction are in reality sabotaging restructuring."

We have recently encountered such a situation during inspections in a number of krais and oblasts of the RSFSR and in the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Armenia, Turkmenia, and Daghestan. This is evidenced by the many

letters from citizens where they talk about a bureaucratic, indifferent attitude toward protection of their constitutional rights and legal interests.

Some procurators are avoiding the struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism and cases of persecution for criticism and do not respond to infringements on the labor, housing, family, and other rights of citizens. There are a number of procuracies which people leave without a clear answer or intelligible explanation. A many-stepped ladder has developed and it sometimes takes a person months to get a final decision. It is not coincidence that the stream of petitions to Moscow is growing. In this connection the newly established procedure should be followed absolutely: at the city and rayon level decisions on petitions will be made by the procurator personally, while in the administrative apparatuses they will be made by heads of departments and administrations and procuracy executives. This is the only way we can be rid of red tape and irresponsibility in giving citizens answers to their petitions and complaints.

Each procuracy should ensure effective supervision over observation of the rights of citizens so that social justice and equality of all before the law are established in fact. We must give all possible support to people who take an activist civic posture and wage a persistent struggle against everything that obstructs the moral purification of the society. The most critical warning signals should be checked by traveling to the site. Any manifestations of lack of objectivity, red tape, and callousness in reviewing messages from citizens must be considered unacceptable.

The Law on Procedures for Court Appeal of Improper Actions by Officials That Infringe on Citizens' Rights is aimed at decisively stopping bureaucratism. We must do everything possible to see that this law operates vigorously in the interests of society and the citizens and becomes an effective means of improving all work with complaints.

The requirements of our cadres for rigorous compliance with the law in conducting preliminary and court investigations have been significantly toughened. We must declare a ruthless battle against any bias, arbitrariness, inclination to accuse, or underestimation of the constitutional guarantees of inviolability of the person and presumption of innocence, because such cases undermine people's faith in justice and the reputation of the criminal law organs. The root of the evil lies in lack of respect for human rights, neglect of the law, and defending the honor of the uniform by any means. The approach to rooting out flagrant violations of legality, no matter what their motivation, should be uniform—they are incompatible with work in the criminal law organs.

The most important task of the procuracy, as of the other criminal law organs, is to use all the force of Soviet laws in the fight against crime. The situation in this is changing slowly. The formation of a united front of

struggle against antisocial manifestations has been declared more than it has been implemented in practice. As a result timely information to the community on such crime-engendering phenomena as massive drunkenness, widespread parasitism, and the degrading influence of drug addiction and recidivist criminals has been underestimated.

Many procurators have relied on administrative methods. Preventive work has suffered from lack of coordination. Therefore the organizing role of the procuracy will have to be significantly raised in ensuring coordination of the actions of criminal law organs and made purposeful and aggressive. Today, when a trend toward decrease in such crimes has been noted, it is clearly apparent how a skillful combination of economic, legal, educational, and organizational measures produces real results. It is not accidental that crimes based on drunkenness have decreased especially notably.

At the same time complacency has begun to appear in some places, and sometimes even direct connivance in drunkenness. The heat of the struggle against these phenomena has lessened in Vinnitsa, Kursk, and Tyumen oblasts, the Tatar ASSR, and various other places. Home brewing is growing, and drunkenness is moving into domestic life. Experience makes it very apparent that short-term campaigns and prohibitions not only fail to produce results, but even lead to revitalization of drunkenness.

The work of the procuracy in the struggle against drunkenness, parasitism, drug addiction, and crimes among minors should be characterized by a stubborn, unretreating, and systematic approach. Procurators should be the initiators in including these matters in comprehensive plans of economic and social development of the corresponding regions, as is now being done in the city of Klaypeda. There is enormous potential in this and other new forms of comprehensive prevention of legal offenses and actively using all the healthy forces of society in the fight against crime.

The investigative apparatus of the procuracy is doing a great deal of work. There are many investigators who show a high degree of professional skill and set an example of courage and principle in uncovering dangerous criminals. Nonetheless, the situation with investigation is not improving. In a number of respects—irreversibility of punishment, the quality and time period of investigation, ensuring legality in investigating crimes, and the state of procurator supervision—the positive results are clearly inadequate. The organizational aspect is suffering; procurators often evaluate their own work uncritically, do not look into specific cases, and employ administrative methods.

The USSR Procuracy and other interested departments are now preparing proposals on an organizational restructuring of the investigative apparatuses of internal affairs organs as well as of the procuracy, and on broadening the participation of attorneys in earlier stages of the investigation of crimes.

At the same time we must immediately focus efforts on molding a highly qualified investigative apparatus, capable of investigating the most complex and important cases, those with greater social and political significance. The procuracy should have a clearly developed system for selection and continuous professional training of investigators, using the latest achievements of science and the best know-how, stimulating the labor of investigators, and enlarging the role of procurators with criminal law science background.

A number of recent party documents have acknowledged the necessity of a serious improvement of work with the cadres of criminal law organs and teaching them to operate under conditions of expanded democracy and glasnost. The CPSU Central Committee begins from the idea that only politically mature, high-principled, incorruptible, competent, and conscientious people who act strictly within the framework of the law and socialist humanism and demonstrate a supportive, sensitive, and attentive attitude toward people can work in the procuracy.

We must make radical changes in cadre policy to make it more active and purposeful and link it inseparably with meeting the challenges put before the procuracy.

Many new people have now joined the organs of the procuracy. They will have to not just master the work thoroughly, but also develop a style of work that reaches qualitatively new frontiers fully matching radical restructuring. By May 1988 all employees of oblast, kray, and republic apparatuses who did not go through recertification in 1986-1987 will be recertified.

Executives have a large part to play in molding cadres through their ability to firmly set aside things which they have been accustomed to for decades, not to fear new solutions, and to feel a constant, organic need to indoctrinate their subordinates by their personal example.

By no means all meet these requirements. Many executives bury the work in words and try to present a touched-up picture of reality; there are cases of doctoring statistics, and the "administrative pressure" method of management is encountered.

The key issue is indoctrinating a real reserve of cadres capable of good work. This matter is not going satisfactorily at the present time. It has reached the point where there is no reliable reserve for promotion in Uzbekistan; in Turkmenia some people do not even know that they are enrolled in the reserve; in Daghestan one out of four persons in the reserve has received disciplinary penalties; and the situation in this matter is not good in the procuracies of Belorussia and Kirghizia.

In order for each procuracy to have a reliable reserve for promotion we must study our people better and know their strong and weak points. Creative and enterprising employees should not be "stuck in place"; they must be

promoted in the service on time. Before promotion it is mandatory that the person serve a trial period in the higher-ranking procuracy, so their competence and personal qualities can be tested in practice. We must make active use of certification of executives for this purpose and broadly discuss candidates in party organizations and procuracy collectives. The sectorial subdivisions of the procuracy apparatuses, which are obliged to be accountable for studying cadres and the quality of the work they do, have a very important role in molding cadres.

The CPSU Central Committee resolution and the universal public approval of party measures to strengthen legality create all the necessary conditions to enlarge the role of procurator supervision in strengthening socialist legality.

We have a great and very important job in front of us. And we must do everything possible so that the radical restructuring of the style and methods of activity of the procuracy does not drag out, so that each person working in the procuracy views restructuring not only as a pressing need but also as his own personal challenge. We must move forward, not be afraid to make mistakes, and step up our work. It is a matter of honor for persons working for the Soviet procuracy to make a worthy contribution to the all-people's cause of revolutionary renewal of our society.

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### **Uzbek Procurator Interviewed on Fight Against Corruption**

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[Interview with A.V. Buturlin, procurator of the Uzbek SSR, by Adyl Yakubov and Vladimir Sokolov: "There Is No Other Way"]

[Text] Writers Adyl Yakubov and Vladimir Sokolov met with A.V. Buturlin, Procurator of the Uzbek SSR, and asked him a number of questions. The subject of their discussion was the participation of republic law enforcement agencies in perestroika.

**A. Yakubov:** The April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, the 27th Party Congress and the January and June 1987 Plenums were something like stages in the perestroika underway in the nation. One of its main features is a battle against negative phenomena. There is probable not a person in the republic who is indifferent to this. The fact came out at the 16th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party that these phenomena had put down deep roots. "All-powerful" people had appeared, to whom laws, bans and socialist morals did not apply. The padding of figures had developed, particularly in cotton production, which had permitted the "all-powerful" to gain millions at the

expense of the common workers and honest peasants. Scorning all the norms governing our live before everyone, they had corrupted others as well. One naturally wants to know what was going on at that time in republic law enforcement agencies. How is perestroika proceeding in their work today, and what is being done to overcome stagnation?

**A. Buturlin:** Most of the assessments of what has occurred here in Uzbekistan and the factors leading up to these negative phenomena are given in 27th CPSU Congress materials. They clearly state that the negative phenomena became so widespread in Uzbekistan because criticism and self-criticism had been reduced to naught in the republic. The republic's former leaders, who had become insulated from life, nipped in the bud critical comments referring to them and reacted to [negative] remarks with irritation. They accepted praise extremely favorably, however. It is not surprising that in this situation window dressing became widespread as a means of providing the leaders with "pleasant" information, and where there is window dressing there is fertile soil for theft and bribery. In the republic party organizations—and this is clearly assessed in 27th Congress materials—people for whom lack of principle became the main principle found themselves in favor. Socialist legality was profoundly violated there, and the norms governing party life were flouted, including those pertaining to the selection of cadres. In time these infractions spread literally to all aspects of republic life.

Lower-level chiefs took their example from their superiors, and more and more officials were thus drawn into the abuses and violations of state discipline.

An unrestrained effort by the republic's former leaders to pass off the desired as reality, to show an actually nonexistent scale of reforms in agriculture, a steady growth of cotton yields and the extensive reclamation of new land also contributed to the abuses involved in cotton production.

Increased cotton production commitments were accepted year after year. These commitments were not backed up with appropriate organizational work and had no realistic economic basis, but they were nonetheless accepted willingly, without any verification or critical assessment.

The republic leadership thus actually doomed the plan in advance to total failure. It also preordained the exaggeration of cotton production by hundreds of millions of rubles. It thereby programmed in the involvement of many people each year in anti-state, criminal activities, people without whose participation it was impossible to make up the fictitious documents on the procurement and delivery of several hundred thousands of tons of cotton.

The word "padding" was hardly mentioned. It was not in use, but it was constantly in the air. It was perfectly clear both to the director, who knew very well that thousands of hectares had long since been harvested and the product delivered but who stubbornly asserted with firmness "I don't to hear about it. The plan—at any cost." and to the subordinate, who had ceased his timid objections and agreed to meet this "plan," that this was the basis of window dressing and deception of the state. They agreed to it, though. The padding made it possible not only to feather nests by stealing from the state, but also to gain various unmerited honors and awards.

The investigation presently being concluded into hundreds of criminal cases of large thefts, bribery and various kinds of infractions of state discipline has shown that many thousands of people were drawn into the criminal activities. And the fact that only isolated individuals actively protested against what was occurring permits us to conclude that there have been real failures in ideological, political and indoctrinational work in the republic.

Information from the criminal cases shows how criticism was suppressed and how people were persecuted who attempted to protest against the harmful management methods and abuses which had taken root, against the arbitrariness of individual leaders occupying high party and state positions in the republic.

In certain places—at the Papskiy Agroindustrial Association in Namangan Oblast, for example—there was an entire "industry" for defaming and persecuting honorable people who did not wish to follow the lead of the self-seekers and money-grubbers who had made their way into power. The association was headed by General Director Odilov, a person close in spirit and actions to former First Secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party CC Rashidov.

Odilov undeservedly received the highest awards and honors as a result of various machinations and far from selfless protection from on high. Certain members of the press, generously rewarded by him, also contributed considerably to his inflated reputation.

Odilov gradually turned the association he headed into his own domain, with procedures reigning which were incompatible with all the norms of socialism. Odilov persecuted in the cruelest manner subordinates who did not suit him, up to the point of physical reprisals, illegally cutting their pay or depriving them of it entirely by sending the "guilty parties" to engage in the senseless digging of tunnels and underground bunkers for many months at a time.

A different, more barbarous but unflinching system of slander, anonymous and planted letters was selected for taking reprisals against individuals who did not want to march to the drum of Odilov and his bosses. Odilov established an entire staff for this purpose, headed by

former Andizhan Oblast Procurator Sharipov, an individual skilled in various stratagems. The anonymous letters "worked" perfectly. It could not have been otherwise. They were expected, you see, by the bosses of certain large offices who were not particularly choosy about the means used to please leaders. Atakulov, former chairman of a party commission under the Communist Party CC, and Orlov, former head of the party organizational work section (presently under arrest for bribery), would swiftly wrap up the dirty affair, and the unsuitable worker would be relieved of his position.

This is just one of the paths which led to the situation in which individuals for whom lack of principle, their own well-being and careerist considerations became the only principle found themselves in favor.

Relations between many higher- and lower-level leaders turned increasingly into collective security based on money and other material benefits.

It seemed to some of those in charge that the bond could not be stronger. And then they had to answer to the law. An investigation was begun, and this entire pyramid, which had been built up over the years and which they believed strong enough to withstand any test, began to fall like a house of cards.

Former "friends" are now vying to tell about one another's abuses, about gifts of many thousands of rubles given to the leaders, and none of them forgets to stress the extremely negative moral makeup of the former First Secretary of the Communist Party CC, whom they all praised to the skies individually and jointly. And it could not have been otherwise. The relations based not on ideological conviction but on dirty deeds secretly perpetrated, where individual tried to grab the largest possible piece of the pie, which appeared to be free and inexhaustible, did not unite the people. It increasingly alienated them one from another.

The "Odilov situation" is, of course, an extreme and ugly manifestation of the shady side of the activities of the machinators and bribe-takers, who flouted all of the laws and norms governing our life and who feathered nests for themselves in the republic. It should be pointed out, however, that the "Odilov situation" blossomed into such a multipetaled flower because socialist legality was frequently grossly violated in the law enforcement agencies. A number of workers lost their sense of party-mindedness and civic courage and operated according to the principle "Whatever I can do for you."

They must have received reports on the arbitrary rule and abuses of Odilov and his gang, however. They did. The republic procurator's office began an investigation, but Alibayev, investigator for especially important cases, halted the criminal case against Odilov... "since no crime has been committed."

Investigator Alibayev has now been arrested for the illegal act of receiving bribes from Odilov. Other tolerators and protectors of the "Odilov ring" have also received due punishment. Certain obliging workers in the law enforcement agencies not only protected the corrupt prestige of various kinds of Odilovs, Gaykovs and similar criminals, but abused their service positions to please them, instigating criminal actions against and convicting honest and conscientious people who did not want to accept the arbitrary rule and called for an end to the padding of figures and the open theft of the people's property. Such actions entirely suited the republic's former leaders.

It was during this period that Comrades Buriyev and Delmuratov were unlawfully arrested and convicted. Their rehabilitation has been reported in the central press. A number of other individuals were also held criminally liable without basis.

These facts alone attest to the fact that not everything was in good order in the law enforcement agencies. At the end of the '70s and the beginning of the '80s they were joined by many people who did not belong there, who got there through patronage, first at law school, and then through the same patronage, sometimes for bribes, were appointed to positions in law enforcement agencies.

Yes, the guardians of the law themselves violated it in the grossest manner, making unwarranted arrests of people and bringing criminal charges against them. We are now revealing cases in which a great many thieves and window dressers, obvious criminals, succeeded in avoiding exposure and criminal liability because workers in the law enforcement agencies were silenced "from above." These workers understood that their advancement in the service and their place in the internal affairs and law agencies depended not upon their abilities, not upon their professionalism, but upon the unquestioning execution of all instructions, including unlawful instructions, from their chiefs, upon their servility. Any other kind of people were simply not tolerated by such leaders as Yakhyayev and Ergashev, former republic ministers of internal affairs, or their deputies, or by most of the chiefs of oblast internal affairs agencies, who were also convicted of abuses. It was precisely during the period when their activities "flourished" that deviations from socialist legality spread in the work of the republic law enforcement agencies.

With respect to the perestroyka in our law enforcement agencies, a great deal remains to be done in this area, both for us and for the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Justice and Supreme Court.

**V. Sokolov:** Aleksey Vladimirovich, what has already been done?

**A. Buturlin:** The leaders of most of the oblast, city and rayon procurator's offices have been removed, and we have rid ourselves of many mid-level workers who compromised themselves. We have been joined by many young people, people who had previously wanted to work in the law enforcement agencies but were not "suitable." We have received a great deal of assistance from the CPSU CC, the central law enforcement agencies and those of other Union republics. These cadres have already performed and are continuing to perform an enormous amount of work in the investigation of abuses, large-scale cases of window dressing and bribery, and large thefts. With the help of the Union procurator's office we have set up a scientific center here, which has now provided advanced training for several hundred of our workers and are taking steps to improve the work of the law school. Unfortunately, however, I cannot say that the normalization of the situation has been completed.

Today, we are taking very severe steps against every abuse we discover on the part of our workers. Unfortunately, these steps are taken in response to existing violations of legality, when the individual has already been justifiably arrested or even convicted. We must prevent infractions of legality, and we see this as our main job under perestroyka. For this purpose we are extensively conducting special inspections at the sites, improving our monitoring of the resolution of complaints and requests from citizens, and regularly hearing reports on these matters from the directors of oblast procurator's offices and internal affairs administrations. The work of the republic Procurator's Office with respect to receiving citizens and investigating their letters and complaints has now been totally restructured. We are particularly severe with people for generating red tape and for failure to take steps in response to reports of infractions of legality.

The systematic establishment of organization, order and social justice in the republic and an uncompromising battle led by the party committees against those who do not reckon with our main principle of distributing material goods in accordance with the amount of labor expended have markedly improved the situation in the labor collectives and are having a good effect on the republic economy.

Performing the highest degree of surveillance over the implementation of the law by all ministries, departments and other agencies of control, management leaders and agencies of the republic Procurator's Office have publicized the measures applied to violators of the law, reported on them at meetings of blue- and white-collar workers, and used radio, television and the press in the legal education work.

The work being performed in this area has the support of all honorable people and is helping to develop in them an active stance in life and intolerance of violators of the law.

There have been many reports from citizens about the exposure and the halting of bribery, theft, padding of figures and window dressing.

I can say with certainty that the situation as a whole is being straightened out. Infractions in management, the padding of figures, window dressing and other types of deception of the state have unquestionably been reduced in the republic.

At the same time, we have data and information from inspections and criminal cases which show that the disgraceful defrauding of the state is not yet being assessed from a standpoint of principle in certain sectors of our republic's economy.

**A. Yakubov:** Specifically, which ones?

**A. Buturlin:** Recently, the Procurator's Office and monitoring agencies have once again uncovered padding of figures and other malicious infractions of state discipline in certain enterprises and organizations of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Consumer Services, the Ministry of Construction, the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, the Ministry of the Fruit and Vegetable Industry, the Union of Consumer Cooperatives, the Main Administration for Construction on Sovkhoz in Central Asia, the Main Administration for Construction in Tashkent City, and a number of other ministries and departments.

Former General Director of the Dzhizakstroy association Terman committed such anti-state acts for a long time. With the connivance of the republic Ministry of Construction and certain local agencies, he padded figures by hundreds of thousands of rubles in reports on the release for operation of important national economic projects on which significant amounts of construction and installation work had not yet been performed. Terman has been held criminally liable, arrested and placed on trial for the commission of serious crimes. Abdurakhmanov, former director of the Dzhizak Oblast Office of Sroybank has also been tried. He released large amounts of money, unhindered, for various services rendered to him by Terman, which was subsequently embezzled.

When one encounters such things one cannot help thinking about the causes. Inspections made in the organizations of the Ministry of Construction, the Main Administration for Construction in Tashkent City, the Main Administration for Construction on Sovkhoz in Central Asia, the Ministry of Rural Construction and a number of other republic ministries and departments convinced us that the spread of figure padding is a direct result of the still present tolerant, narrowly departmental approach to this anti-government activity on the part of management leaders, including responsible workers in the ministries and departments. Based on the results of inspections 12 leaders of ministries were invited to

provide explanations to the republic Procurator's Office. Their explanations were accepted and they were issued official warnings on the inadmissibility of infractions of legality.

All of the leaders of the former Ministry of the Cotton Cleaning Industry, headed by Minister Usmanov, have been arrested and held accountable for tolerating padding and for actually joining the violators of state discipline and thieves operating in organizations under their authority, and for accepting bribes. The USSR Supreme Court issued the latter the maximum punishment.

Another cause, the findings of inspections have shown, lies in the still unsatisfactory work performed by the auditing bodies and in unsatisfactory departmental and technical monitoring. Little is done to the auditors for negligence and lack of seriousness in their work.

Despite the extremely bad situation with respect to the observance of state discipline at enterprises and in organizations of the Main Administration for Construction on Sovkhoz in Central Asia, the leaders of the Main Administration did not bring about a decisive increase in departmental monitoring, the smooth functioning of the auditing service or the prompt disclosure of infractions of legality. In many cases the violators of state discipline went unpunished, since information on them was not turned over to investigative agencies. More than 30 officials in this branch have recently been held criminally liable by law enforcement agencies for the malicious padding of figures, however. Typically, all of these cases of abuse and actual swindling were uncovered not by the proper services of the Main Administration or its oblast administrations but by law enforcement and monitoring agencies.

At the recommendation of the procurator's office an impartial investigation of the situation was conducted in the Board of the Main Administration for Construction on Sovkhoz in Central Asia with the participation of leaders from the republic procurator's office. A large number of officials were brought to strict accountability, and measures were outlined for improving the functioning of the Main Administration itself and its local subdivisions with respect to monitoring observance of the law and eliminating the causes of infractions. The leaders of the Main Administration should have taken these steps without waiting for us to intervene, however.

We encountered approximately the same situation when we checked on the implementation of laws for combating figure padding in construction organizations of the Main Administration for Construction in Tashkent City. For inaction and failure to fulfill his duties with respect to ensuring legality in the operations of subordinates, K. Sahkhov, Deputy Chief of the Main Administration for Construction in Tashkent City, was warned by the republic Procurator's Office about the inadmissibility of

violating the law. Thirteen trust directors and a number of responsible workers in the Main Administration were severely disciplined at the recommendation of the Uzbek SSR Procurator's Office.

**V. Sokolov:** Aleksey Vladimirovich, you first mentioned those who had drawn into the procurator's office people who did not belong there. Then, when you mentioned Yakhyayev and others who had straightened themselves out, you corrected yourself, listing the conditions which these people absolutely had to meet in order for such directors as Yakhyayev to retain them. There was obviously a purposeful and rigid selection according to specific criteria, was there not?

**A. Buturlin:** Precisely.

**V. Sokolov:** But the organization which was formed according to these criteria operated for many years not in isolation. It reflected the established relations surrounding it in all other areas of public life. The perestroika in law enforcement agencies can therefore obviously not be carried out in isolation from all the other structures.

**A. Buturlin:** Of course not. Party decisions underscore the fact that the perestroika must affect all areas. We consider the particular responsibility borne by agencies for protecting law and order, however. No matter how affected by negative phenomena the other structures, as you call them, were, if the republic's law enforcement agencies or at least part of them had been functioning at the proper level, the abuses would not have become so widespread at least.

**V. Sokolov:** When we speak of the perestroika today, however, can we say that the system of law enforcement agencies is operating under new conditions, that the pressure from outside has been halted?

**A. Buturlin:** I believe we can. As a result of the constant attention from the CPSU Central Committee and the position taken by the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, all of the necessary conditions have now been created in the republic for the law enforcement agencies to perform their function in precise accordance with the law. We do still see individual violations having to do with someone's appeal or request at the sites and in the rayons. When these become known, however, they are treated with utmost severity and principle.

**A. Yakubov:** Aleksey Vladimirovich, the exposure of those who defrauded the state over a period of many years has produced and is still producing inestimable results not only with respect to the state, but also in the moral purification of the people and the republic's entire public life. At the same time, this necessary process—I refer to the campaign against window dressing in cotton production—has another side. It has brought tragedy to many families. The "all-powerful" dragged many people from the lower levels into their dirty game. We know that the law enforcement agencies, particularly the republic

Procurator's Office, is making a great effort to ease the lot of those who were drawn into the machinations by fraud or by order. Since this matter involves the lives of many people, I would like to hear about this work in greater detail.

**A. Buturlin:** First of all, I would like to say something about the danger of such violations of state discipline as window dressing and the padding of figures. By distorting the picture of the actual state of affairs, they undermine the foundation of our planned economy. In addition, the padding of figures and window dressing provide fertile soil for large-scale theft, bribery and a large number of other mercenary abuses. This is precisely what resulted in our republic.

The padding of procurement figures for cotton went beyond the inflated figures in the reports. Almost universally the people responsible for compiling these reports received bribes of many thousands of rubles and committed embezzlement—not just large-scale but extremely-large-scale embezzlement. The republic lost more than 400 million rubles just from the cases of embezzlement which were prosecuted. According to the most modest figures from the experts, more than a billion in state funds were transferred in Uzbekistan for cotton not actually procured during the period 1978-1983.

Considering the scope of these activities, the law enforcement agencies actually relieved of criminal liability people who had contributed to the figure padding and window dressing not out of personal greed and those who had actually committed crimes under coercion from superiors. The humane legal standards permit us to make such decisions. The law regards established facts such as these as mitigating circumstances. Only a few people were held criminally liable for the figure padding and window dressing, and then only when it involved particularly large amounts and caused great damage. Even when the padding was accompanied by embezzlement and bribery but the guilty parties demonstrated no personal greed, the courts meted out the very lightest punishment specified by the law. In response to a petition from the republic Procurator's Office, the Presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet found it possible, by way of a pardon, to reduce the punishment for a large group of individuals in this category. And several thousand workers—brigade leaders, tally clerks, deliverers and team leaders—who had involuntarily taken part in the abuses but had no personal material interest were freed of criminal liability altogether. Their numbers considerably exceeded the number of those held criminally liable.

As a result of the serious steps taken by the leaders of party committees, state discipline has been strengthened in the area of management relations and increased attention is being given to the protection of socialist property.

There is no question that the padding of cotton procurement figures has been drastically reduced. This fact has been established by systematic inspections conducted by statistical and people's control agencies and agencies of the Procurator's Office.

**V. Sokolov:** Can you name a labor collective in which you can say with certainty that the channels of embezzlement and bribery have been closed off?

**A. Buturlin:** This is what I would say. During the past 2 or 3 years every third kolkhoz chairman and sovkhoz director in Samarkand Oblast has been removed from his position. The leaders of the oblast and republic organs have faced the extremely difficult task of finding competent and honest leaders devoted to the party cause to fill the vacancies. The situation brought out one of the most difficult areas in the party organizational work in the selection and placement of cadres. The cadre reserve announced from the lofty speaker's platforms at various conferences proved to be a fiction.

Deception, figure padding and window dressing flourished in this oblast as in other regions. Even then, however, there were leaders with a developed sense of civic duty, who did not reconcile themselves to the deficiencies but entered into battle against them, no matter what kind of difficulties this created for them. It was certainly not simple to break up the collective security which served as reliable bureaucratic armor covering the figure padding. Various kinds of pressure were applied to these people and attempts were made to compromise them by any means, going as far as direct violations of the law.

Clouds gathered also over the head of Hero of Socialist Labor Shamsi Nazarovich Nazarov, Chairman of the Kommunizm Kolkhoz in Makhtuchiyskiy Rayon. Thanks to leaders like him, loopholes were closed off for the thieves who mixed state funds with their own. Not everyone liked the chairman's type of management, however.

While on an official trip to Samarkand Oblast, I saw how doubts were cast upon Nazarov's honesty and principles by people who were themselves not distinguished by principle.

Oblast Procurator V.I. Yermenko and I drove out to the farm, met with the people, talked with them and learned that all of the accusations against him were groundless.

Shamsi Nazarovich has headed the kolkhoz for more than 35 years. This director, who is sensitive to everything new, is a teacher by profession. He became a teacher by calling. Nazarov has taught hundreds of brigade leaders, section and farm managers, many of whom now independently head farms.

With his treatment of people, by creating everything necessary for them to lead a normal life and work highly productively, Shamsi Nazarovich has thoroughly closed off possible channels of violations and shaped public opinion against those fond of easy income.

As a result of this the farm has had no serious violations of the law in recent years, unlike neighboring farms.

**V. Sokolov:** It is apparently not just a matter of the personality of the man in charge, but also the fact that the workers themselves rose up to combat the negative phenomena.

**A. Buturlin:** More than just the stability of the collective depends upon the unity of positions taken by the person in charge and public organizations. It is no exaggeration to say that the plant, the factory or the association becomes a home to people, a place where they spend a large part of their lives.

Public organizations of the Signal Scientific Production Association in one of Tashkent's heavily populated rayons are well aware that the undeviating observance of Soviet laws cannot be achieved without properly organizing living conditions and strengthening labor, production and state discipline.

The work performed by that collective's public organizations focuses on developing in each worker a sense of being a boss in production. While several years ago individual violations of the law were encountered there, the enterprise is now one of only a few in Tashkent in which no violation of the law has been registered during the past 4 years. It is no accident that the collective is the leader of socialist competition in the fulfillment of plans for the 12th five-year period.

People there do not wait for the administration to take steps against those who like to be late for work and those who have to warm up before beginning the workday, losing valuable minutes in the process. The labor collective itself holds them strictly accountable. The proper public atmosphere is created around them. The party organization, the trade union committee, the Komsomol committee and people's control agents perform individual work with them. They create an atmosphere in which violations of labor and production discipline are impossible. The problem of pilferers does not exist at this enterprise, sources of losses have been cut off and barriers have been erected to the output of poor-quality products, theft and other abuses.

**A. Yakubov:** The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party, as you know, impartially condemned managers who abused the enlistment of children for farm work. Furthermore, there are laws establishing limits on child labor. I would like to know what the republic Procurator's Office is doing in this area.

**A. Buturlin:** We checked on observance of the law on public education, including laws on the enlistment of students from general education schools for farm work in all the oblasts last year and the year before. When activities contrary to the law were revealed, the procurators lodged protests against the decisions of the ispolkoms, informed higher authorities and raised the question of bringing the violators to party accountability. Unfortunately, cases were uncovered almost universally.

This is all the more inadmissible since we have the example of Namangan Oblast, which has managed without enlisting schoolchildren for at least 2 years now. Located next to it and in practically the same circumstances are Andizhan and Fergana Oblasts, which, although they have reduced the use of student labor, have still not rejected it entirely.

We have taken steps to see that students from higher and secondary educational institutions are enlisted for farm work also in strict accordance with current laws. Greater order was established in this matter last year, but a great deal still depends upon the taking of a principled position by leaders of the republic's Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and Ministry of Education. Unfortunately, they frequently assume the role of sideline observers and do not want to protect their students.

With respect to women's labor, this is a complex social problem not just in our republic but also in the nation. Demands have repeatedly been made that women not be permitted to work on the night shift, for example, but we have been forced for now merely to place restrictions on that. The matter is further complicated by the fact that most enterprises must convert to a double- or triple-shift system within the immediate future. Would it be possible to arrange things so that only women worked on the daytime shifts and only men worked at night? I doubt it. There are problems also with respect to the observance of existing laws limiting the performance of heavy labor and jobs involving hazardous conditions, the carrying of heavy loads and underground operations by women.

**A. Yakubov:** In my opinion, an especially disturbing situation has developed in this respect in cotton production. Take just the harvest, for example, during which farm women have to carry bags weighing 25-30 kilograms across entire fields. Nor have we in the rural area resolved many social problems, which would make the work easier. There are few nurseries, and children sleep at the edge of the fields in cradles hung from trees. The excessively hard work, poor living conditions and the feudal, bay-like attitude toward women which still exists here—all of this sometimes leads to a tragic end. Year after year of this, and a woman arrives at a state of total despair. This is not even to mention the fact that she receives very little for her exhausting labor. Where is the social justice? A very complex issue....

**A. Buturlin:** I would say extremely complex. I do not believe, however, that the republic party organs are not aware of this problem. A great deal is now being openly said about it, but the resolution of this problem, as you know, involves a large number of important factors and requires serious measures. Incidentally, the problem affects not just women, but all those involved in agricultural production.

**V. Sokolov:** It seems to me that the very existence of this problem is linked to the residual method of allocating funds for social needs which predominated for many years not just in agriculture and not just in Uzbekistan. How many villages in Russian in general have ceased to exist on the basis of this principle. It was fairly severely condemned in 27th Congress materials. The situation is being perceptibly improved. This is true also of Uzbekistan. In Namangan Oblast I saw modern field camps with nurseries, with shower rooms and lounges. As far as I know the economists now believe that a far greater return can be obtained by applying funds to the improvement of living conditions in the inhabited rayons than to the development of new land.

**A. Buturlin:** The problem of disproportions in the social area were discussed at the 27th Congress, and we are discussing it today at meetings and in the newspapers. The problem is truly a universal one. It has not missed even such a construction project of the century as BAM. The bulk of the funds have been applied to the main line, to tunnels and bridges, but the fact was forgotten that people have to work and live there, that they need apartments, clinics, kindergartens and schools, stores and dining facilities. The same thing occurred in Uzbekistan, where in the new land primary attention was given to the cotton fields and not enough to the social problem. It is purely a departmental approach: to release the fields and report on cotton production as rapidly as possible....

**V. Sokolov:** With respect to the cotton situation, what should we regard as the main thing?

**A. Buturlin:** Man does not exist in isolation from the society. He must have food and clothing, and the nation must be able to defend itself. The figure for the amount of cotton needed in a year, for example, is not set for the sake of prestige. It is urgently necessary. It is simple essential to provide the nation with that much cotton! And we are still making poor use of our possibilities for achieving this planned figure. There are unquestionably reserves in republic agriculture.

Why, for example, can Uzbekistan not meet its needs for livestock products? Because too many people are accustomed to working in the old way, with the extensive methods, and try not to burden themselves too much. Why is it that in 13 rayons selected at random an inspection revealed more than 15,000 hectares of land not on the inventory? This land was concealed in order to show good yields, to receive awards and honors and to

be among those out front with only a minimum of work, without burdening oneself with crop rotations, the observance of agricultural practices or caring for the drainage collection system, the ditches....

The inability, sometimes a disinclination, to manage, results not just in material losses but also in social disproportions. The approach to the accomplishment of the task of providing the nation with the required quantity of cotton unquestionably should be a comprehensive approach, one which includes the scientific, technical and social aspects.

**V. Sokolov:** All the more since it is not in the peasant's nature to idle away the time. His entire history is one of working from morning to night. His peasant know-how and initiative have meant practically nothing in recent decades, however. He knows when he needs to begin planting and the ground is ready, but he does not dare. He has to wait for orders from the rayon. There is a schedule for working the crops and for harvesting them, and he does not have the right to deviate from those schedules. It is now very difficult to return independent management to the peasant. He frequently does not even want it, has grown unaccustomed to it.

**A. Buturlin:** The peasants are indisputably hard-working and selfless workers. And this is very important now that we are going to create the opportunity for him to demonstrate healthy peasant initiative. We must base this on the worker's interests. We shall then see good results. The tasks set by the party with respect to perestryka simply leave us no other way.

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#### **Jurist Reviews 'Voluntary' Social Organizations**

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[Article by A. I. Shchiglik, doctor of juridical sciences: "What Social Organizations Do We Have?"]

[Text] A broad network of social structures functions within Soviet society. These structures are distinguished from one another by their method of formation, specific goals and tasks, territorial scope of activity, forms and methods of operation, and legal status (position). The primary types of these structures are: membership (or charter) social organizations; agencies for amateur activities, and agencies for mass social movements. However, in the scientific and popular literature all of them—for example the trade unions, the parents' committees, and the soviets of veterans of war and labor—are often called simply social organization. The application of the concept of "social organization" in such a broad sense is fully allowable. V. I. Lenin noted that the term "organization"

means, specifically, "a separate unit of a human collective, formulated to at least a minimal degree". ("Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Collected Works], Vol 8, p 241.)

Classified among social organizations in the narrow sense of the word are such associations which are based on voluntary membership, self government and independent action, have their own material base, and operate in accordance with their adopted charters. This is why they are sometimes called **membership, or charter, organizations**. Among these are: the CPSU—the highest form of socio-political self-governing organization, the trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperative organizations (kolkhozes, consumer cooperatives, etc.), artistic unions (writers, composers, artists, journalists, etc.), various workers' volunteer societies (scientific, scientific-technical, cultural-educational, defensive, athletic, etc.). Here too we must classify the mass independent action communist organization of children and youth—the All-Union Pioneer Organization imeni V. I. Lenin, operating under the leadership of the Komsomol.

The system of social organizations is a dynamic one. Reflecting the interests and needs of individual groups and strata of the population and society as a whole, it is gradually developing and improving. Evidence of this fact are the recently created social organizations, as for example the USSR Union of Theatrical Workers, the USSR Designers Union, the All-Union Voluntary Society to Promote the Struggle for Sobriety, and cooperatives in the spheres of public dining, domestic services, and consumer goods production.

Social organizations are important links in the system of socialist self-government of the people. Secured within their charters are the principles and norms of intra-union (intra-organizational) life such as democratic centralism, collective leadership, glasnost [openness], criticism and self-criticism, etc.

The legal basis for their creation is Article 51 of the USSR Constitution, according to which USSR citizens have the right to unite into social organizations which facilitate the development of political activity and independent action, and the satisfaction of the varied interests. The spectrum of human interests is extremely broad. It includes economic, social, political, spiritual, professional and amateur interests, as well as sex- and age-related interests (men, women, young people, the aged), the interests of workers and pensioners, etc. However, the diversity of interests does not mean that any of them may be used as the basis for creating a social organization on the principle of anarchistic self-will: "I will unite for whatever purpose I want".

The interests in the name of whose satisfaction citizens want to unite into a social organization must be lawful and correspond to the standards of communist morals. They must be socially significant. They must be clearly and precisely formulated in the charter as the goal of the organization. Only if these conditions are met will the

association of citizens into social organizations correspond to the goals of communist construction, as required in the above-mentioned Article 51 of the USSR Constitution.

Social organizations must combine the specific interests of the individual and separate groups and strata of citizens with the interests of society as a whole.

Based on the statutes of Article 52 of the USSR Constitution, citizens who are of legal age and who hold religious beliefs have the right to create religious associations. The order of organization and the legal status of these associations are defined by the resolution of the VTsIK [All-Union Central Executive Committee] and the RSFSR SNK [Soviet of People's Commissars] dated 8 April 1929 entitled "On Religious Associations", with the changes and supplements introduced into it by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Directive dated 23 June 1975. Similar statutes have been adopted in all the union republics. The Soviet state and its organs do not intervene in the religious activity of the faithful or of their associations. At the same time, religious associations do not have the right to intervene in the affairs of the state.

Social organizations are an integral part of the Soviet political system. According to the USSR Constitution, they, in accordance with their charters and tasks, participate in the management of state and public affairs and in the resolution of political, economic and socio-cultural questions. They have the right to own property which they need for performing their charter-defined tasks, the right to delegate their representatives to electoral commissions for the election of Soviets of People's Deputies and the right to nominate candidates for deputies of these Soviets. They have the right of legislative initiative in the person of their all-union and republic organs, as well as other rights which are specified and expanded in the current legislation as applied to certain types of organizations. At the present time, work is being performed on expanding the rights of social organizations. Legislative statutes are being developed on the rights of the trade unions, on voluntary societies, and on youth (in which the legal status of the Komsomol will be secured and expanded).

Now let us turn to the **organs of social independent activity**, which, like the social organizations, in accordance with Article 48 of the USSR Constitution, serve as a form of participation of citizens in the management of state and public affairs.

The most common types of such organs are the village committees (selkoms), the house, street and parents' committees, various councils affiliated with cultural-educational and medical institutions, comrade courts, voluntary people's detachments for maintaining public order. According to statistical data, in 1985 there were over 2.3 million such agencies operating in the country, with a membership of over 28.6 million people.

The organs of social independent activity are organizational forms of social self-government of certain groups of the population (the residents of one village, one street or one house, parents, etc.). They are elected most often by the place of residence of the citizens or by the place of their work. These organs do not represent any unified, centralized system. Their activity bears a local character. However, it has great social and political significance.

The organs of social independent activity are formed and operate on the basis of special legal statutes. According to the legislation, they operate under the general leadership of the local Soviets of People's Deputies and in close contact with the administration of housing- communal and cultural-educational organizations, institutions for public education, health, etc.

The **organs of mass social movements** are also related to social structures. The peculiarity of these movements (for example, proponents of peace, the women's movement, veterans of war and labor) is that they, as a rule, do not have individual or collective membership. Therefore, often it is impossible to determine the exact number of people or organizations participating in them.

Citizens, labor collectives, social organizations and organs of social independent activity participating in a movement are not unified by formal membership with all its attributes (rights and responsibilities, membership dues, membership card, etc.), but rather by some lofty common ideal, common goals and tasks. All of them participate in joint cooperative actions of the given movement, are represented in its leadership organs, and give it material support.

Social movements are represented in the political system of Soviet society by public self-government agencies: committees, soviets, fund governing boards, etc., which are elected at all-union (republic, local) conferences and meetings or are formed by the founders (state organs, social organizations, etc.). These agencies operate within the framework of the USSR Constitution and on the basis of the adopted charters or directives. Such agencies, specifically, are the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations, the Soviet Committee on European Security and Cooperation, the Soviet Committee on Solidarity of the Countries of Asia and Africa, and others.

The women's movement is comprised of a system of women's councils elected by place of residence and in the work collectives, as well as republic, oblast, city and rayon women's councils headed by the Committee of Soviet Women—an all-union organ of the entire women's movement in the country. A similar system of agencies (councils of veterans of war and labor elected in the labor collectives and at the place of residence, republic, oblast, etc. veterans' councils), headed by an All-Union Council, comprises the All-Union Organization of Veterans of War and Labor, which also has no individual membership.

Among the organs of broad social movements in which millions of citizens and hundreds and thousands of labor collectives participate we may list the Soviet Peace Fund, the Soviet Culture Fund, and the Soviet Children's Fund imeni V. I. Lenin.

Of course, the organizational forms of social activity of the Soviet people are not exhausted by those social structures which we have discussed. There are many more of them within the system of socialistic self-government of the people. We may cite, for example, the most varied **amateur special interest associations and clubs** at houses and palaces of culture, which operate on the basis of the Statute ratified by a joint resolution of the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee, the Ministry of Culture and other ministries and departments in 1986. Such forms of social independent activity as student detachments, youth initiative funds, and military-patriotic clubs, in which internationalist military men actively participate, all bear a mass character.

Let us say a few words about the **social structures in labor collectives**. We are speaking here not about the organs of self-government of the labor collective—general meetings (conferences) and labor collective councils, but rather about the low-level segments of the all-union and republic social organizations and organs of social independent activity.

As a rule, the labor collectives have functioning party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and their elective organs, the primary organizations of various voluntary societies—Znaniye, DOSAAF, NTO [scientific-technical societies], VOIR [All-Union Society of Inventors and Innovators], societies for environmental protection, for the promotion of sobriety, etc. Moreover, women's councils and councils of veterans of war and labor are elected, as well as comrade courts and, depending on the specifics of the labor collective—councils of instructors, councils of young scientists, etc.

We also cannot overlook the question of the so-called **informal associations and movements**. These have arisen, for example, among a portion of the youth (hippies, rockers, heavy metallists, etc.). In essence, these are local, small social groups rather than organizations in the real sense of the word. They are called informal because they do not have a membership in the usual sense, nor do they have elective organs of administration or commonly worked out and mandatory general rules expressed in an official document (charter or directive). They are not registered in the state agencies or social organizations as an official social structure. However, this does not mean that their activity should be prohibited in an administrative order (provided, of course, that it does not bear an asocial character and does not break the law).

We must note specifically that a characteristic trait of our time has become the notable increase in the social activity of the Soviet people. This is clearly manifested,

specifically, in the creation of independent action associations whose participants strive to make a contribution to various aspects of social life (environmental protection, protection of the monuments of history and culture, etc.). The CPSU views the activity of such associations as one of the specific manifestations of socialist democratism.

Unfortunately, there are also examples of extremist elements penetrating into the leadership of certain independent action associations. They want to take to the streets to publicly announce unjustified protests, to present provocational demands, and to persecute those who do not share their point of view. We get the impression that these people, because of their political naivete or some other reasons, have perceived the process of expanding democracy as an excuse for doing whatever they like with impunity, and of performing actions which are objectively directed counter to our society's interests. Of course, no one will be allowed to break the laws of the Soviet state and to take advantage of the humanism of our people's authority.

We are currently becoming aware of the fact that the legal status of the newly created independent action associations has not yet been defined. Therefore, we believe that the need is emerging for developing legislation on social organizations and social movements which would define the mechanism of realization of the citizens' constitutional rights of association, as well as the legal status of all types of social structures within the Soviet political system.

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12322

### **KOMSPRAV Outlines Measures To Deal With Criticism, Suggestions**

*18000075a Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Nov 87 p 1*

[Article by V. Denisov, All-Union Komsomol Central Committee secretary: "Do Not Remove From Monitoring"]

[Excerpts] **During the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress delegates voiced over 1,400 critical comments and suggestions. What action is being taken on them? This question was answered by V. Denisov, secretary of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee [TsK VLKSM]:**

First of all I would like to note that the majority of the critical comments and suggestions expressed from the congress podium during the work of the discussion centers and at meetings held at ministries and departments were of a constructive nature. Of course, there were some cases where a delegate would attempt to use his or her mandate to resolve various supply-related problems, like a sort of master key to a warehouse of

scarce items. However, the main thrust of the delegates' demands was dissatisfaction with the way in which restructuring is proceeding at the local level, as well as specific suggestions designed to change the situation for the better.

One in seven of the critical comments or suggestions aired at the congress related to the further development of self-government by students in secondary schools and VUZs, expansion of the realm in which student labor associations operate, vocational orientation and job placement of graduates. One in eight concerned organizational and political strengthening of Komsomol organizations. Concerned the need to improve work with the members of All-Union Komsomol elective organs, to restructure the training system for Komsomol and Pioneer cadres and aktiv, to increase the effectiveness of the Research Center at the Higher Komsomol School of the TsK VLKSM, and to review and widely discuss the standardizing documents and instruction of the TsK VLKSM. Many individuals saw a need to draw up and adopt a USSR Law On Young People, and this was reflected in the Congress Resolution. One critical comment or suggestion in eight manifested concern for the status of Komsomol financial administrative operations. The work of mass media for young people and various manifestations of stagnation in ideological work were evaluated with extreme thoroughness.

The delegates mentioned virtually every aspect of Komsomol work. And the TsK VLKSM feels that it is very important to reflect that concern and carry out the instructions which it has been given. Indeed, that is what we were elected for. Incidentally, one-fifth of the 404 delegates who made critical comments during the congress have been appointed to the central elective organs of the All-Union Komsomol, and a majority of them are serving as members of local Komsomol committees.

And how are words being turned into actions?

By a decision of the TsK VLKSM Buro a working group composed of two secretaries and three department chiefs from the TsK VLKSM and representatives of the party and public organizations which make up the TsK VLKSM apparatus was established for the purpose of organizing and monitoring compliance with delegates' comments and suggestions. A young people's creative collective was established for the purpose of preparing suggestions for a draft version of a USSR Law On Young People, and that collective has begun work.

Many of the delegates' suggestions have been incorporated into plans for the operations of Central Committee departments. A total of 130 suggestions have been relayed to the central organs, ministries and departments which have the authority to resolve the issues in question. Specifically, suggestions concerning job opportunities for students and their desire to combine their studies

with socially useful labor were sent to the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education; the USSR Council of Ministers received proposals concerning measures to improve planning and the production and sale of goods and develop the youth service sector, as well as TsK VLKSM proposals concerning ways to improve the functioning of dormitory self-government organs. USSR Gosstroy and Gosbank were also sent requests that they look into the question of whether to expand the basic statutes on the formation and utilization of economic incentive funds for planning and research organizations to cover student design bureaus at VUZs. In addition, a whole series of standardizing documents and instructions will be submitted for approval at the upcoming plenum of the TsK VLKSM; these documents and instructions have been reexamined, taking into account pre-congress discussion and the comments and suggestions made by congress delegates.

I have only mentioned a small part of the work which is being done; the main thrust of that work is to provide a legal, physical and organizational basis for innovative work by Komsomol committees.

It should be noted that during the first nine months of this year alone the Central Committee received almost twice as many letters as in all of 1986. We regard this not only as a sign of confidence in the TsK VLKSM, but also as a sign of continuing inertia and the inability of Komsomol workers at the local level to support young people's increasing activism.

In his opening address to the congress M. S. Gorbachev stressed that "everything that goes on in our country is the Komsomol's business." The purpose of our work is to prove worthy of the party's trust, preserve our mandates as delegates and regard as an obligation the implementation of the decisions which we made together.

12825

### **Financial Independence Urged For Komsomol Organizations**

*18000075b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Nov 87 p 1*

[Interview with Nikolay Kuchinskiy, All-Union Komsomol Central Committee [TsK VLKSM] first deputy administrator of affairs, conducted by A. Ladin: "Paying With the Currency of Trust"]

[Text] [Kuchinskiy] One in four of the suggestions we received prior to the congress pertained directly to ways of improving the financial administrative operations of the Komsomol. Taking those suggestions into consideration, the congress, as you are aware, acknowledged the need to reinforce substantially the material base of Komsomol organizations, expand their financial independence and give Komsomol members an opportunity to earn money and spend it themselves.

[Question] Yet here before us we have letters written by people reproaching the TsK VLKSM for indecisiveness and even an outright unwillingness to resolve something which, it would seem, could be resolved without any particular difficulty, if there were only a desire to do so...

[Kuchinskiy] We have also been receiving angry letters at the TsK VLKSM Administration of Affairs. And in the final analysis the majority of them boil down to one issue: why are we so slow to grant Komsomol organizations the right to independent control over a portion of the Komsomol dues which they collect? And in turn I would like to ask our many opponents: would it be possible merely by issuing an instruction to either amend or establish the economic laws which, obviously, also govern our Komsomol financial operations? There have already been so many attempts to circumvent those objective laws, to "outsmart" them, but the results, as you are aware, have been pathetic.

And if today we are thinking about giving primary organizations the right to spend, say, one-third or one-fourth of their dues at their own discretion, then we would certainly have to consider this aspect as well: from what sources will we make up for the missing percentage points in our Komsomol budget? And we should also ask ourselves whether all Komsomol members are conscientiously carrying out their express duty under the Komsomol Charter: the payment of membership dues. No, not all members are doing so. Take for instance two neighboring Komsomol organizations: the Krasnodarskiy Kray Komsomol and the GeSSR Komsomol. The first operates, so to speak, on the basis of complete self-financing — all its expenses are covered by the dues it collects. But the other organization receives a subsidy from the TsK VLKSM, and that subsidy is equal to almost one-half of its budget! In Georgia the majority of Komsomol members are not employed in public production and consequently pay a purely symbolic sum of money into the Komsomol fund.

Therefore the establishment of universal order with regard to payment of membership dues is in fact a priority financial precondition for decentralization of the right to spend Komsomol membership dues.

[Question] Obviously, there must be other preconditions as well.

[Kuchinskiy] Absolutely. We have every reason to hope for a substantial increase in the share of the Komsomol budget raised through receipts from Komsomol publishing operations and youth tourist organizations and, in the near future, from the functioning of a public/state system of young people's scientific and technical creative collectives and young people's labor associations. This will help compensate for that portion of our budget which primary organizations will be permitted to spend independently. In addition, we can hasten that prospect by conducting Komsomol affairs in a more economical and skillful fashion. Consider, for instance, elimination

of the discrepancy between the income and expenses of houses and palaces of young people, hotels and other facilities under the jurisdiction of Komsomol committees. Can we continue to tolerate the fact that unprofitable hotels and houses of young people which are not meeting even half of their financial plans remain on Komsomol balance sheets unquestioned? Obvious underestimation of the financial aspect of the matter has led to a situation in which the Moscow Komsomol Gorkom's Methodological Center for the Organization of Young People's Leisure Activities was forced, instead of making a planned profit of 13,000 rubles, to post a loss almost equal to that sum at the end of last year. Analysis indicates how inefficiently and thoughtlessly equipment and production areas are being used at youth cultural and sports complexes. Yet they could be used to create a broad network of paid services which could be used by anyone wishing to do so.

Some houses of young people have still not overcome a fateful tendency toward the expenditure of large amounts of money to hold mass events and manufacture expensive equipment and properties, none of which expenditures are either aesthetically or economically justified.

[Question] Many readers ask about the results of the transition to a non-cash [beznalichnaya] form of payment for membership dues in some categories of Komsomol membership.

[Kuchinskiy] I think it is still too early to form a definite opinion on that question. But I would like to give the following example. In Tyumen Oblast alone receipts from membership dues in 1986 increased by 18 percent, a figure equal to almost one million rubles. I would point out that the transition to the payment of membership dues through non-cash transactions may be introduced on a strictly voluntary basis, by a decision of those organizations which have a multi-shift work schedule or whose facilities are scattered over a large area. However, in doing so it should be borne in mind that Komsomol raykoms and gorkoms have the right to repeal a decision by a Komsomol assembly to introduce non-cash payment of membership dues in those organizations where such a system of payment is having a negative effect on the state of individual work with Komsomol members.

[Question] Would it be wrong to limit the issue of financial independence for Komsomol organizations to the granting to them of the right to spend a portion of their dues independently?

[Kuchinskiy] Yes, that is quite true. When the subject of financial independence for primary organizations is discussed, that covers a whole range of issues. Substantial steps have already been taken toward resolving some of them. For example, there has been considerable expansion of the right of primary organizations to spend the funds which they raise themselves. We feel that any

instance of infringement on the right of primary organizations to use the funds which they raise — and such instances do unfortunately still occur — should be looked into thoroughly.

[Question] But in order to have money in an account, that money must first be earned. And sometimes that is not so easy to do as it would appear at first glance.

[Kuchinskiy] What can I say? That happens, too. Sometimes Komsomol members go to a plant to earn money, and they get handed a broom and a dust pan. Or even worse — they have to grind bolts ruined by poor workers at the plant, as was the case with upperclassmen in the city of Shevchenko who decided to earn some money to buy musical instruments. As a result the young people's daily earnings were minuscule.

Traditionally the primary source of earned income in a Komsomol budget is young people's voluntary Saturday work days. But in a number of places they are poorly organized and those participating in them earn such miserable pay that it is almost beyond belief. Nevertheless, it is a fact that last year in Karelia the average Komsomol member earned only 45 kopecks at Saturday work days. Komsomol committees are still being too timid in their use of new forms of fund-raising, such as offering paid services to the public or sponsoring concerts. Last year these, so to speak, non-traditional forms of fund-raising accounted for a little more than two percent of total Komsomol budget receipts.

We must acknowledge that the timidity of some Komsomol committees to take advantage of all their fund-raising and spending opportunities is the result of the incomplete state of guidelines on this matter. In this connection I would like to say that currently we are working on the development of fundamentally new approaches to expenditures. Naturally all that will be reflected in the new documents to be considered at the upcoming TsK VLKSM plenum.

[Question] All that is good, but quite often Komsomol workers complain that even when they have enough money in the bank they cannot buy the goods they need with it.

[Kuchinskiy] Yes, that is an old and troublesome problem. The list of cultural and household goods which may be sold by non-cash transaction is uncommonly far removed from young people's current needs. The objective economic factors which make it difficult to solve this problem are common knowledge. Nevertheless dragging out the issue endlessly or, worse yet, stopping at half-measures, is not the way out of the situation. What we have is a truly paradoxical situation. Many amateur organizations established by Komsomol committees have been granted the right to use money obtained from participants' donations and income from the organizations' own activities to acquire cultural and athletic equipment by non-cash transaction, yet the Komsomol

committees which formed those associations are themselves deprived of that opportunity! Where is the logic in that? We would like to address that question to USSR Gosbank and the USSR Ministry of Trade.

[Question] As you are aware, it is impossible to bring about restructuring of the Komsomol through the efforts of the Komsomol apparatus alone. The Komsomol aktiv must also become involved. And that is difficult to do is we have to rely on the current system of moral and material incentives.

[Kuchinskiy] I agree. It is time that, for the sake of achieving our goals, we take a new look at the whole system of moral and, especially, material incentives for the Komsomol aktiv. Because there are many incentives which continue to be in common use which can only be called incentives with a great stretch of the imagination. Take for instance a valuable gift, the purchase of which using Komsomol money is, as you have seen, a very difficult problem. As a result it often turns out that the gift is only valuable in that it cost a certain sum of money. But in terms of its attractiveness to the activist to whom it is awarded the gift often has no value whatsoever, because it is just another useless item, doomed to gather dust on a shelf somewhere.

I cannot help but agree on this point with those who wrote to the TsK VLKSM and *Komsomolskaya Pravda* to express the opinion that it is high time we lifted the ban on rewarding Komsomol activists with cash prizes. What prevents us from doing so? Fear of the abuses and financial machinations which occurred in the distant past? But we should not be guided by yesterday, but instead by the current situation in our country and in the Komsomol. The atmosphere of broad glasnost, openness, democratization and trust in which our Komsomol organization is learning to exist and function is in itself a reliable guarantee that we will be able to avoid a repetition of the bitter lessons of the past.

[Question] In your opinion, how realistic are suggestions concerning the construction of Komsomol enterprises to produce products especially for young people?

[Kuchinskiy] The establishment of such enterprises would be completely in line with current principles of economic activity. And for the Komsomol as well it would be economically advantageous to make a certain contribution toward financing the establishment of those enterprises, in order to subsequently receive a guaranteed share of their receipts. But before undertaking practical realization of this tempting idea we should first consult with our scientists and sociologists and consider together all the possible consequences of such an economic outgrowth of the Komsomol as a public political organization. Perhaps, taking into consideration the well-known difficulties involved in the construction of new facilities, it would be advisable to try an experiment:

investing Komsomol funds in the reconstruction of some enterprise, setting it up to produce badges and souvenirs. That experiment would probably tell us what course to follow from there.

[Question] Do you remember how, in the course of pre-congress discussion, the following question was brought up: does the Komsomol really need so many cars?

[Kuchinskiy] Of course I remember. The individuals who brought it up were, it seemed to me, guided more by emotions than by a desire to take a sober look at the actual state of affairs. Because for a Komsomol raykom an automobile is most definitely not a luxury, but rather a means of transportation. Would members of the raykom staff be able to make as frequent visits to young people in remote rural areas if they had to walk or hitch rides with people going their way? Obviously this question has come up in reaction to abuses, to cases in which certain Komsomol administrators got official vehicles confused with personal vehicles. There is no concealing the fact that even now such cases are by no means sensational for their rarity. Recently, for example, during a TsK VLKSM audit it was necessary to "return" a UAZ-469 automobile to the Navoiyskiy Komsomol Obkom in Uzbekistan. For more than 18 months the car had been in the private use of the secretary of a Komsomol committee at one of the sovkhozes in Nuratinskiy Rayon.

However, I would like to state quite categorically that rumors concerning an excessive number of automobiles at the disposal of the Komsomol are extremely exaggerated. Our Komsomol raykoms have only one car apiece, and obkoms have five or six.

[Question] We often hear complaints that the staff of the financial departments and administrations of affairs of Komsomol organs still like to play the role of auditors...

[Kuchinskiy] Well, that is a fair and impartial reproach. By no means all the people working in those departments have managed to restructure their working style. And I think that it is precisely the workers of financial departments and administrations of affairs who should bear the principal burden of inculcating modern economic thinking in young people. And let us begin with a simple thing: let us teach everyone — full-time employees, activists and rank-and-file members — to have a good understanding of our Komsomol budget. Let each person learn how to count Komsomol money. I am sure that then the "big economy," the economic concerns of the whole country, will become much less abstract and much more concrete for Komsomol members, more visible, tangible and personal.

### **Komsomol Criticized For Lack of Contact With Young People**

18000075c Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Oct 87 p 2

[Article by Yu. Borisov: "The Komsomol and the Frontiers of Restructuring"]

[Text] Just recently a correspondent on "Youth Channel" told his radio audience of a simple interview which he conducted with young people on the streets of Moscow. The radio reporter's question was exceedingly simple: "Has there been any change in the way your Komsomol organizations function since the 20th All-Union Komsomol Congress?" Unfortunately, the responses were not notable for their diversity or complexity. "No, nothing has changed": that was what the young people replied.

Of course, this sort of micro-interview cannot be regarded as a serious study of public opinion. Of course there have been changes in the Komsomol. A more critical approach to the conducting of Komsomol assemblies, competition among candidates for the position of plant director or chief of staff of a Komsomol construction project, a more active movement in favor of the creation of young people's housing complexes, revitalization of the studio theatrical movement: these and other recent landmarks are the result of a definite restructuring in the operations of Komsomol organizations and their committees. Also changing is the working style of Komsomol leaders. One could say that the times themselves demand of them the ability to talk with young people about the most urgent problems and to participate in such broadcasts as "12th Floor" and "Youth Channel," to respond to the hard questions being posed by young men and women today.

However, it still cannot be said that restructuring has affected every Komsomol organization, and therefore the answers that the radio journalist heard from young people must be regarded as truthful.

On the eve of the 20th Komsomol Congress *Sovetskaya Kultura* printed a letter from the former secretary of the Komsomol organization of a vocational and technical school in Voronezh. Nikolay Byba gave the reasons why he decided to quit Komsomol work. The discrepancy between words and deeds, formalism, bureaucratism, the substitution of "events" for real contact with young people... Of course, the writer of that letter was wrong when he chose the simplest course: quitting. It is much more difficult, despite all the shortcomings in the functioning of the Komsomol, to help it restructure and be an active aid to the party in the implementation of its announced plans.

Today an activist stance in life should be expressed through specific steps toward restructuring, in the struggle for all that is new and progressive. When they orient

Komsomol members in that direction, Komsomol committees have an obligation to have a clear perception of the most important directions in their own work. Because it is quite clear that without inspired labor by Komsomol members, by young men and women working in the fields of economics, science and agriculture, it will be impossible to bring about cultural transformations or improve recreational opportunities. A creative approach, a high level of professionalism, organization and discipline, struggle against stagnation, routine and bureaucratism — these are what should be on the agenda at Komsomol meetings today. It is no secret that recently many young men and women have begun to see the restructuring process merely in its relation to the leisure sphere and the problems of modern entertainment. For some of them one's attitude toward rock music has become the virtual embodiment of one's attitude toward restructuring.

It is quite understandable that increased interest has been aroused by the fact that previously young people were quite simply denied the right to be interested in that kind of music. But now we are witnessing extremes of another sort: any attempts at a sober analysis of this phenomenon are regarded by rock music fans as an infringement on democracy and glasnost. But glasnost is not the decibel level produced by a given group, but rather the opportunity to express one's opinion and hear out varying points of view, including those which will help young people tell the difference between art and trivial hack productions, which will teach them to understand other, more complex and serious aspects of culture.

Young people can best be helped to understand modern art by their own peers, by students at creative VUZs and young instructors, musicians and artists. And such work should of course be directed by Komsomol committees.

With regard to further development of young people's leisure time the role of Komsomol committees cannot be limited merely to establishing discotheques, arranging concerts, etc. Today we have begun to speak aloud about such dangerous social phenomena as drug addiction, prostitution and alcoholism. Is not the struggle against those phenomena and the struggle to promote a healthy way of life among young people one of the Komsomol's main tasks? Unfortunately, Komsomol committees have not yet launched a full-scale battle to preserve the physical and moral health of young people.

Another no less important aspect of educational work by Komsomol committees is the eradication of consumerism in young people's attitude toward life. Is there always reason to be delighted at the energy and conviction with which some young men and women are demanding that party workers, ministries and plant directors help organize leisure time activities and

improve day-to-day conditions? Naturally those who have an obligation to help young people should do so. But does not the desire to "let the boss do it" sometimes mask simple consumerism?

Of course, maximum efforts are characteristic of young people. When our editors published N. Byba's letter under the heading "Why I Quit the Committee" some readers wrote letters expressing approval for the author's idea regarding the creation of "restructuring assistance committees" which would operate parallel to Komsomol organizations. In their opinion such committees would create a spirit of competition through which the "excessively formalistic Komsomol" would begin to undergo more rapid restructuring and be rid of its present shortcomings.

It is unlikely that we will be able to overcome formalism by creating new structures. Of course it is good that various informal youth associations are coming into being. It is bad when a Komsomol committee is not at the source of an interesting undertaking, when some activists see a threat that their authority will be undermined by an unexpected youth initiative.

No one can undermine the authority of a Komsomol leader except the leader himself. This should be kept in mind when working with young people, the ones in whose hands the fate of our country will lie tomorrow.

12825

#### **Justice Minister Interviewed on Publication of Law Code**

18000043a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian  
27 Oct 87p 3

[Interview with USSR Minister of Justice B.V. Kravtsov: "The Nation's Code of Laws"]

[Text] For the first time all of the country's most important legislative acts have been compiled in a special edition accessible to everyone. The USSR Code of Laws took up ten volumes. What does it signify and for whom is it intended? *Izvestiya* Correspondent G. Alimov discussed these questions with USSR Minister of Justice B.V. Kravtsov, who chaired the Commission for Publishing the Code of Laws.

"The nation's Code of Laws is an official publication of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet," says Boris Vasilyevich. "This single edition contains the existing legislative acts of the USSR, the most important joint decrees of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR government decrees of a general nature.

"Creation of the Code was not simply a selection and publication in a certain format of existing normative acts, nor is it a purely technical work. It was proposed that many legal acts be renewed, and that was done. A

number of new legislative acts were worked out, and additions and changes to existing acts were introduced. Of the 1,367 acts found in the published volume, 370 were adopted after the adoption of the USSR Constitution of 1977; 158 were prepared in the course of the work on the Code; 36 were published in the new edition; and 240 are acts in which essential changes were introduced. In other words, of the mass of legislation presented in the Code, almost half consists of new documents or acts brought up to date on the basis of the Constitution and subsequent legislation. On the other hand, during preparation of the Code, 856 acts were canceled altogether, and changes were made to 1,041 others."

**[Question] And so it turns out that over 3,000 legislative acts somehow or other required re-examination and reworking?**

**[Answer]** That's right. The USSR Code of Laws is an important step in developing legislation. It will help provide greater stability. Incidentally, greater access to the most important normative acts is offered to all Soviet citizens.

**[Question] You speak of stability. But times change and life will no doubt require introducing changes to the new documents, will it not?**

**[Answer]** Of course. The USSR Code of Laws is not something that is unshakable or unchangeable. To the extent that legislation develops it will have to be continuously updated, to include new acts and introduce changes. For this reason the decision was made to issue the Code in loose-leaf form, which will permit introducing regular and timely updates to the normative materials.

Overall supervision of this work, in consideration of its great significance, is provided by the Commission on Publishing the USSR Code of Laws. Materials for updating are prepared by the USSR Ministry of Justice, and will be regularly examined by the commission twice annually in 1987-1988 and after that four times a year.

**[Question] Is the Code of Laws available for subscription?**

**[Answer]** Yes, and subscriptions have already been conducted. Presently almost 43,000 copies of all ten volumes have been published and 11,000 of the abridged edition. Subscriptions remain open for materials for updating the Code for 1987 (In the future it will be open annually as well).

**[Question] Who may subscribe to the Code of Laws?**

**[Answer]** Primarily the ispolkoms of rayon and city Soviets of People's Deputies and ispolkoms of the largest community and rural Soviets; also rayon (and city) People's Courts, so-called First Notary Offices, legal advice offices; and rayon, city and central public libraries.

We are informed that, for example, subscription has been approved for the entire set of the published Codes, but subscribers are unable to get all of it—certain volumes are lacking. Updated materials for the Code are furnished to the subscribers with any degree or regularity. For example, Komi ASSR, Kara Kalpak ASSR, Arkhangelsk, Dzhezkazgan, Naryn, Syr-Darya, Talas and Tashauz Oblasts have not received on a timely basis the supplement to the first volume, published two years ago. Correction of this situation depends to a large extent on *Soyuzkniga*, the All-Union State Association for the Book Trade. In all of this work, a clear-cut system must be worked out for control over the movement of materials from the time they are published until they get to the subscribers. Legislation is developing very rapidly, and the task is essentially one of informing all the citizens and responsible officials of the changes and supplements introduced to the Code, on a timely basis.

No doubt there is no need to prove that this is important. Knowledge of the laws contained in the Code will promote raising the overall and the legal culture of the Soviet people and—as is well known—the success of the entire matter of perestroyka depends largely on this.

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#### **Justice Official Interviewed on Independence of Courts, Judges**

18000043b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 87  
p 3

**[Interview by Yu. Feofanov with RSFSR First Deputy Minister of Justice Yu. Severin: "Subject Only to the Law"]**

**[Text]** Court activities are always subject to the law. Our court does not create law and does not interpret the laws—this is the prerogative of the legislator—but merely applies it to concrete situations. But this does not mean that the court is not independent in its decisions and that it should not touch upon those changes which are taking place in our society. But what is changing in court practice, and how is it changing? *Izvestiya* columnist Yu. Feofanov discusses this topic with RSFSR First Deputy Minister of Justice Yu. Severin.

**[Question]** I'd like to start our conversation with a detail which doesn't seem all that important at first glance. It has been repeatedly noted in the press that the accepted procedure for announcing the guilty verdict somehow presupposes a prosecutorial bias on the entire process—it is not the state prosecutor who reads out the document, but the chairman. I do not want to assert that because of this the process necessarily takes on a prosecutorial bias, but such an impression is created. I cannot understand, Yuriy Dmitriyevich, why this procedure is retained. After all, it is not stipulated in the law. Forgive my harsh words, but could it be that this small matter reveals the very same inertness of thought, which is totally incompatible with perestroyka? Even if there is in

fact something here that needs restructuring, one can simply allow the judicial process to take its natural course: the one who prosecutes should also bring the accusation.

[Answer] From my own point of view, it would truly be better for the guilty verdict to be pronounced by the prosecutor. But first of all, the legislator must have a chance to speak here; and secondly, I don't think this is the most important thing. Believe me, it is not merely a matter of the one who reads the guilty verdict that determines prosecutorial bias; the matter is a lot more complicated. Incidentally, at present, under conditions of glasnost, the so-called prosecutorial bias in the courts has not been consistent, and acquittals have begun to be brought more often. I hardly wish to paint an idyllic picture; moreover one cannot do so in the light of glasnost. But it is also a fact that positive achievements are being made. It is becoming a thing of the past for the judges to try to seize upon who says what—and if no one says anything, then one can guess what sort of "opinion" prevails. Outside interference, however, takes place today as well; it overcomes all the principles and it undermines the effects of the positive beginnings being made in justice.

[Question] But the tendency to prosecute arises not only from outside influences. This tendency, in the words of many jurists, finds its beginnings in the blind pursuit of a guilty verdict. The press has written quite a bit about this; some of the gross judicial errors are caused by the fact that judges at times essentially slide into a position of reformulating the accusation in their judgments. Yet the law clearly states, that the court inquiry is independent and the court is not bound by the conclusions of the prosecutor. It would seem that everything is clear, but what happens right and left? Let's say a witness changes his testimony. It is necessary to find out why. But no, without bringing out the reasons, they consider the testimony given at the preliminary hearing to be the truth. But then, we know how they sometimes extract both admissions and testimony.

[Answer] You speak as if everything were clear: the investigation prepares materials for examination in court, and the court carries out the function of "state acceptance" [gospriemka]. But actually, quite often the investigation tries to foist off on the court its own point of view. The prevailing impression is still one of the court as some kind of showcase, called upon to bring in a guilty verdict no matter what. Following the acquittal of Sovkhoz Director A. Surgutskiy, unjustly accused of pilferage and bribe-taking, I. Kucherinov, an investigator for especially important cases for the Moscow Oblast Procuracy, brought suit against the court and resorted to attacking the judge, although the RSFSR Procuracy did not consider it necessary to contest the verdict.

Such an unnatural situation, whether we want it or not, has its effect on the courts, causes a certain distortion in the judges' consciousness, and gives rise to a tendency to

accept on faith the conclusions of the investigative organs, so as not to spoil relations with them. Therefore one of the paramount problems is to guarantee the genuine independence of the courts. And if in the past this question was shamefully avoided, today, in the atmosphere of glasnost, people talk about it in full voice. But the admission of this fact is poor consolation. The independence of the courts must not only be proclaimed, an effective mechanism is needed to genuinely assert the independence of the judges.

Sometimes it is said that attempts to interfere with justice should be cut off primarily by the judges themselves. The reasoning for this is, of course, well-known. But one must not forget that one comes across justice among inflexible judges as well. V. Piskunov, chairman of the Party Control Commission at the Belebeyevskiy CPSU Gorkom, firmly demanded of People's Judge R. Miftakhova, that she find guilty of slander three workers from the Avtonormal Plant who had criticized his friend at a trade union meeting for a work breakdown. The attempt to influence the judge was unsuccessful. Piskunov did manage to have her name removed from the list of candidates for election, but then the RSFSR Ministry of Justice itself stepped in. It turns out that in a number of situations justice is placed in a position of dependence on bureaucrats.

[Question] What you are saying is very serious. Do you have in mind interference in judicial activities by raykoms? Soviet organs? Minyust [Ministry of Justice]? But in spite of the prestige of these authorities, judges, who are honorable and brave people, are in fact capable of withstanding such pressure. That is at times difficult, but nevertheless the law is still on the side of the judge. And as far as the preliminary investigation is concerned, how can this influence a judge? On the contrary, the court can send the case back for further investigation; and if, God forbid, the accused is acquitted, it can be unpleasant for the investigators and the prosecutors. And what sort of dependency is there here? More likely the investigator is in a dependent position with respect to the judge.

[Answer] You are thoroughly confused. The matter does not lie in the raykom, the ispolkom or in the justice establishment. According to the law on the judicial system, a judge can be brought to criminal liability only with the sanction of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet. Without receiving such sanction one may not bring suit against a judge. But the prosecutor himself can institute criminal proceedings and carry out investigations, interrogations and searches on his own authority. And this is being done. True, often an investigation "comes to naught," as they say. But the judge is compromised. One would think that the sanction of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet would solicit questions on bringing the suit against the judge itself.

And the nomination of a judge for an additional term depends exclusively on the local administrative organs, with which judges may have complex, and in a number

of instances, conflicting relations. In a word, a special legislative act is needed, either on the status of a judge or about the independence of the court, which would also define a mechanism which would ensure genuine independence of judges, and making them subject only to the law.

[Question] To be quite honest, I was not aware of all these "fine points." But nonetheless let us return to the court and judges.

One of the court's tasks is to establish the reasons and the conditions which brought about the crime. This is spoken of, it seems to me, at all meetings, in all the regulatory documents, and in published articles. Let us suppose the court discovered these reasons. It made an interlocutory decision. But, I beg your pardon, of what value is it? After all, we know that the main cause of embezzlement, for example, is mismanagement. I am not naive, and I understand that interlocutory decisions are not the basic weapon in the struggle with mismanagement. But they are there as well. If one does not pay attention to them, the prestige of the court and justice as a whole suffers. Is it really not possible to attribute greater prestige to interlocutory decisions? Even such extreme measures as instituting criminal prosecution against those who ignore the demands of the court? Or, if this is not realistic, to reject interlocutory decisions in general. If they are merely shoved aside with impunity or treated with empty formal replies, this means that fakery is being perpetrated, and the appearance created of struggle with the causes of crime. And that is the very worst thing. The struggle with any kind of appearance of doing business is the very purpose of the restructuring.

[Answer] The problem of interlocutory decisions exists. Wherein does the sense of the interlocutory decision lie? It must contain the competent conclusion of the court on the conditions which gave rise to the malicious act. However, the effectiveness of interlocutory decisions is low. What is the reason? There are widely differing opinions, on the whole among the jurists themselves, as if all the blame lies with those very responsible officials who are obligated to take measures in accordance with the interlocutory decisions. That is the reason proposals are being advanced for increasing their responsibility right up to criminal liability. There is some sort of reason in all of this, and complaints addressed to the responsible officials are not groundless. But the matter does not lie only here.

Many interlocutory decisions are delivered; however, quite often they are of a declaratory nature, contain naive judgments, and sometimes merely repeat information about violations of the law.

In 1970 several engineers were granted patent rights for the invention, "A Method for Deoxidation of Steel." After eight years it was introduced and in only a year savings amounting to several million rubles were realized. But you see, for more than seven years the USSR

Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy had been in conflict with the inventors over award of remuneration for their process. Only in 1986 did the inventors receive the sums due to them, by means of the court. Life had confronted the court with a most urgent problem—ensuring legal entitlements for scientific-technical progress. But it was precisely this that the judges did not see. In the interlocutory decision they merely touched on the minor question of the fact that officials at the ministry had not examined the inventors' application on a timely basis. Indistinctness and pettifoggery—that is what lowers the effectiveness of judicial prophylactic measures.

[Question] Obviously greater in-depth study of the reasons for crimes and raising the prestige of interlocutory decisions would bring benefits. But after all even during the very process of deciding economic cases the judge has to delve into the technology of production as well as the accounting system, and the specific nature, for example, of construction or cooperative relationships. You brought up the Surgutskiy case. But, in order to acquit him, the court was forced to study how the sovkhos had developed before him, during his tenure, and afterwards. In a word, it turns out that it's not enough for a judge to know the statutes of the law—what is needed is in-depth analysis of the materials in the charges, in order to dig down to the truth. Yes—determine the motives and aims of the lawbreakers, but explain them from the point of view of the acts being tried as well. They may be such that they very significantly alleviate the guilt of those on trial. And this is especially important now, when perestroika demands both enterprise and economic risk.

[Answer] The transition to new management methods, the expansion of economic independence of enterprises, and measures for increasing the quality of production are creating the conditions for overcoming the chronic tendency—to make excessive use of criminal-legal means in cases where everything should be decided by economic-management methods or by means of applying the norms of civil law. Judges will have to overcome stereotypes years in the making, which bind the managers hand and foot; they must get a firm grasp on what constitutes economic activity; even though laid down within the framework of obsolete instructions, they must not identify them with criminal acts and punish them according to criminal procedure. Professional risk must be taken into account as well, when acts of a criminal nature can be ruled out. Legality and common sense must walk hand in hand—of course, without side-stepping the law in any way.

Not so long ago in Khakass [Autonomous Oblast] a group of officials at a worsted textile manufacturing association and seasonal workers were sentenced to incarceration for embezzlement on an especially large scale. Among the condemned was the general director of the enterprise as well. But why did they find themselves in court? In trying to overcome large losses of wool owing to the lack of storage facilities, the general director had concrete platforms built. The wages of the seasonal

workers paid within the limits of the contract seemed unusually high to someone, and that was interpreted as embezzlement. Meanwhile, having maintained the quality of the wool, the combine noticeably increased productivity and received additional production and profits. The mistake was corrected by the RSFSR Supreme Court, but the question of its causes remains an urgent one. They are the results of the values and cliches which have been formed in the consciousness of the jurists.

[Question] Do not many miscarriages of justice take place because of the system of indicators of the work of the courts? Indicators are in general our scourge in many spheres. Herein lies the very stability of sentences and decisions. It is fine if they are stable; nobody contests that. It is bad when the court thinks not about a just decision, but only about whether the sentence will "pass through" the court of appeals and whether they will complain of liberalism. And here, where it is clear that a verdict of "not guilty" is needed, the case is returned for further investigation, in order to quietly cover up the poor work of the investigators. And would it not be a sufficiently powerful means against those who are overly cautious in matters of openness and glasnost: so and so many have been given verdicts of "not guilty," and so and so many of the accused were acquitted upon further investigation, done quietly. Even such a comparison would play a positive role.

[Answer] You are correct, there is such a tendency—to work "for the indicators," and to compare who had the most decisions overturned. And nevertheless no source of "miscarriages of justice" can be found in the statistics.

The problem of state supervision of courts is truly acute; supervision, which would not interfere in the actions of the judge and would not dictate decisions to him; supervision which would wisely guide him and strengthen him in his independence and originality. For this one chiefly needs to have a highly-skilled staff of administrators. For the time being there is a great deal of unprofessionalism in the administrative system, especially in the localities, which also makes its mark on the practical relationships between the justice apparatus and the courts.

Moreover, one needs to take in to consideration a certain erosion of the functions of the organs of justice in the area of organizing court proceedings. To a decisive extent this was predetermined by statutes adopted 15 years ago and now obsolete in many respects, and by the regulatory activity of the justice organs. An orientation toward inspections and generalizations on certain questions diverts the administrative apparatus from the principal problems. Perestroika requires giving prominence not to a lot of minor inspections and countless reports, but to the resolution of strategic tasks—urging organizational and procedural forms of activity by the courts which match today's level of democracy, consciousness and culture, as well as the demands of science and the capabilities of technology.

In a word, perestroika sets new and sufficiently complex tasks for the organs of justice. They concern both the exercise of justice itself, and the organization of court activities in conditions of democracy and wide-scale glasnost.

09006

#### **Jurist Calls for Stricter Measures to Fight Prostitution**

18000056a Tallin SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 16 Oct 87 p 4

[Article by jurist K. Yanovich: "On a Moral Topic. What's the Price of Love?"]

[Text] For decades the word prostitution was under a secret ban in the country. The 1955 edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia stated that "prostitution in the Soviet Union has been liquidated since the conditions gave rise to and nurtured that practice have disappeared. Society has for a long time now closed its eyes to dishonor and infamy (from the Latin word *prostitutio*). Replacing the word "prostitute" are such synonyms as "women of easy virtue," "nocturnal butterflies," etc. These "priestesses of love" felt that they were quite free to do as they pleased, and if they had to appear before a court, they were not charged with prostitution, but with crimes concomitant with that profession, such as theft, the spread of venereal diseases, etc.

From time immemorial prostitute, as a rule, circulated in the criminal world and made their own significant contribution to the activities of that world. (Incidentally, until recent times the existence of such a world in our country was also not admitted. We shall now try to lift that curtain and look behind the scenes of this phenomenon.

As is known, in bourgeois society pimps make a living off prostitutes. In connection with the more complex conditions of existence in our country, they are compelled to nourish a broader range of individuals.

From a report on an interrogation of the doorman at the Hotel Tallin: "I have known Lulle and her girl friend Sirye for about two years. They used to come into our restaurant every day, made acquaintances with the Finns and spent the evening with them."

From a report on an interrogation of the restaurant manager: "Lulle and Sirye were clearly women of 'easy virtue' inasmuch as they were with different Finnish tourists each time they were in the restaurant and then left for some destination with them in a taxi."

From a militia report: "Lulle and Sirye were apprehended on more than one occasion at night in the Viru Hotel in the rooms of foreigners."

During the interrogations the doormen and administrators of the hotel and restaurant (several of them were interrogated) displayed their "modesty" and kept silent about the fact that they were receiving partial kickbacks from the prostitutes. Lulle M. testified during the interrogations that she paid the restaurant administrators a total of approximately 300 rubles.

From a report on the interrogation of the prostitute Sirye: "We paid the administrators or the waiters in order to be seated at a table next to the Finns. Over a six months period we paid the waiters about 100 rubles."

From a report on the interrogation of a militia officer: "I have known Lulle M. as a woman of "easy virtue" who started up acquaintances with foreigners, mainly Finns. We could not let her into the hotel. She handed me money at the entrance to the hotel and I let her pass."

Both women were without work anywhere for an extensive period of time and led a parasitic lifestyle. Until such time as one of them, Lulle M., turned up behind bars for buying up stolen foreign currency.

In 1980 the judicial collegium for criminal affairs of the Estonian SSR Supreme Court sentenced Lulle M. to three years of imprisonment and she was taken under custody from the courtroom. After having served her sentence she once again became an habitu of the Tallin restaurants and bars. For her the capital of the republic was still the same big tavern with loud music and the quiet rustling of foreign currency.

On one of those evenings Lulle M. and her friend Natalya B. joined in on the "dolce vita" at the Vana-Toomas restaurant. It was there that a purse with money and documents belonging to a group of Finnish tourists disappeared. At a preliminary inquest Natalya B. testified that the Lulle M. also took part in the theft. But later she denied it, claiming that she was slandered. Thus, Lulle M.'s participation in the theft remained a fact on the conscience, if one can call it that, of her friend who was indicted.

Here begins the second part of the detective story. At the beginning of this year B. was released from a corrective labor colony on the condition that she must find work. One can imagine her horror inasmuch as she never had to work prior to this. Located in "an area that was not too remote," Natalya B watched the ascent of Lulle M. with envy. The latter married a Finnish citizen and changed her name. The fact that this marriage exists in another land is only one of life's trifles. Lulle M., now Lulle U., was able to acquire, God knows how, a cooperative apartment (of course, not by waiting one's turn in a labor collective). Then she got a car, imported equipment, and money. And, of course, she continued to lead a life of idleness, but now without a care in the world. After all, she was not a parasite but a married woman.

Natalya B. decided to get "compensation" from Lulle for the fact that, as she put it, "got her off the hook." S-i became her chief consultant on how to "pump out" the money. S-i was well known in the criminal world under the name of Alena. A criminal case involving Alena in Kiev, where she is a registered resident, was closed by a grant of amnesty. S-i informed the investigating authorities that her actual residence was in Kaluga Oblast where her fianc, a Finnish citizen, is employed. But she often comes to live in Tallin. Since she had no specific place of residence nor employment for any length of time, she had little money.

From the interrogation report: "Before prison Natalya lived at Lulle's place. Together they "bombed the firm," traveled to Leningrad, and committed crimes together. Compared to Lulle, Natalya was small potatoes..."

It was decided to get 3,000 rubles from Lulle for the fact that B. ostensibly served out a sentence for two people.

Tough male acquaintances from Moscow were called to come to Tallin.

From the interrogation report: "Everyone in the criminal world in Tallin knows Lulle, and no one among the Tallin group would never attempt to collect debts from Lulle. It was simpler for Lulle to return money to us, strangers."

The criminal group gathered in a room at the Hotel Olympia where the Moscow "road performers" were staying. (Everyone who has had occasion to come across this situation knows how "easy" it is to get a hotel room in Tallin. However, these arrivals did not have any problem). B. and S-i stayed overnight in the Muscovites' room and plotted a plan of operation.

From Ye-v's testimony: "I worked at the Ekran creative association from September 5, 1979 to May 5, 1980 and from June 1, 1983 to October 1, 1983 as an assistant cameraman. I took part in the filming of the television productions "Man and the Law," and "Health."

As we can see, he didn't overstrain himself. For a long period of time he led a parasitic lifestyle. He has been living in Moscow since August without a passport, was convicted for malicious hooliganism, and was treated for syphilis. He "built" his life on a former foundation at national economy construction sites.

From a description of Ye-v from his detention site: "He is scornful of work and is a fancier of restaurants and women of easy virtue."

As we can see, the qualifications of the persons selected for the job of "pumping out" debts are quite suitable. The second accomplice in the assault on Lulle was convicted for theft in 1984. He was married... also in a distant land, to an Austrian woman. He was unemployed.

From the testimony of the defendant: "One-half of the collected debt was paid out as remuneration. Extraction of the "debt" owed was obtained by various means, either by non-violent means or by force."

They hired a taxi. They arranged to pay the drive a special fare. They didn't know Lulle's exact address. The apartment number was found in the list of building residents. The criminals broke into the apartment. Natalya B went back outside and waited in the car for the results. The criminals beat up Lulle and demanded money from her.

From Lulle's testimony: "I didn't recognize Natalya B. One of the fellows demanded 5,000 rubles and another one demanded 10,000 rubles. I offered to give them the Panasonic TV set, the JVC system, and the gold if they would only leave. I said that I was recently robbed of 16,000 rubles and that I have money in a savings account. I showed them my pass books."

Lulle managed to struggle free to the street and screamed for help. The criminals got into the car and the driver, in spite of her screams, drove off with them. The criminals turned over all their money to the driver.

"The girls" paid 100 rubles to cover the visiting criminals' departure on the evening train. Incidentally, soon after, they had to make a return trip (not at their own expense, of course) since there was to be a court hearing.

The burglary accomplices were sentenced to long prison terms.

As we can see, prostitution and its associated crimes flourish wherever people are tolerant of those who facilitate the practice of this ugly profession. Doormen, administrators, waiters, and all those upon whom the "dolce vita" depends take money from prostitutes for services rendered even without particularly concealing anything from the community. It is no accident that a recent edition of *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published a "business proposition" made by a prostitute to legalize their profession in view of their willingness to pay a 40 percent tax on their earnings, even in convertible foreign currency. It is easier to pay a high tax than share the income of a wide circle of individuals.

If we want to wage an effective battle against prostitution and various associated diseases (including protection against AIDS), then we must make very serious demands of collectives and restaurant and hotel management. Extortion from prostitutes and their abetment are taking place in front of our very eyes. Once must be totally blind not see that.

Given their incomes, the 100 ruble fine applicable to a prostitute under current law (200 rubles for a repeated offense) will not be helpful in putting a stop to prostitution. Fines are necessary, but they should be assessed at a higher rate and they should be assessed as abettors of prostitution as well.

With due respect to the emancipation of women, should we perhaps give some thought to the restoration of the former order of things where women unaccompanied by men should not be allowed into restaurants at night? A woman standing behind a closed door of an all-night restaurant, waiting until the doorman condescends to let her in, or one sitting at a restaurant table with a shot glass of cognac does not elicit a very flattering image of herself.

A woman of respect, one would think, would not perceive such restrictions on herself to be offensive or a loss.

6289

#### **Widespread Corruption in Tajik Gas Supply Network Exposed**

*18000056b Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Oct 87 p 2*

[Article by A. Ganelin: "A Bomb for the Chairman. An Explosive Situation Has Erupted within the Tajik SSR State Committee for Petroleum Products. A Chain Reaction of Thefts Has Produced Human Victims"]

[Text] Anton Egitovich Bosh is a professional "fighter" against systems of bribery, embezzlement, and falsification. Moreover, he is also deputy chief of the investigations administration of the Tajik SSR Procuracy. In January of this year Bosh received an "inheritance" of 1,863,000 rubles. That amount was listed as a shortage in an inspection made of the Dushanbe petroleum base for 1985. In January of that year Anton Egitovich was appointed the new supervisor of the investigatory group which since last year has been investigating bribery within the republic's State Committee for Petroleum Products (GKNP). However, the "inheritance" he received did not make him happy. Why? What else was missing?

"The inspection document," sighed Bosh, "and inspectors."

...One year ago an entire group of employees of the republic's GKNP, together with the Committee's chairman, K. Amonov, was arrested on a charge of bribery. Subsequently, almost two dozen inspectors from various republics and oblasts of the country have checked the Dushanbe petroleum base. The inspection document was signed by senior inspector of the counter-intelligence section [KRO] of the USSR State Committee for Petroleum Products, L. Sergeyev.

"You see," explained senior procurator of the investigations administration Asad Urunov, "our investigation exposed a system of bribery. But where was the bribery money coming from? What were they getting for it? Therefore, there was a system of embezzlement. But where did 1,863,000 rubles come from? From a document? But the document was a "raw" one and wasn't worth the paper it was written on. The document cannot have any legal validity without the signatures of materially responsible persons.

Therefore, in January of this year the republic's procurator issued a decree designating a new inspection which was to be undertaken by the USSR State Committee for Petroleum Products. Since that day the investigatory group has been waging a two-way battle. First, against those who were engaged in embezzlement in the republic, and secondly, a struggle with the country's GKNP to send inspectors here. The latter struggle was less successful. Inspectors from all corners of the Union came here from time to time and for a short period. They ostensibly spent their time at the Dushanbe petroleum base as they strove to get relieved of their inspection duties as soon as possible.

Then Bosh and Urunov went to the USSR GKNP. There they were finally promised that a large team would be sent.

Shortly thereafter, the chief of the control and inspection department of the USSR GKNP, A. Bykov, actually did arrive by plane. He took a look at the shelves that were laden with documents from floor to ceiling and agreed that the job was a big one. After that, Dushanbe became a busy landing site. Inspectors arrived... and quickly left. A. Kuznetsova arrived from Astrakhan on June 1 and left the same day.

Not a single visiting inspector was left in Dushanbe in June. Therefore, as a result, the procuracy did not obtain any real inspection document.

Thefts within the republic's GKNP system began from the time that gasoline tanks started to arrive in Dushanbe. For example, they were sent from Ufa where the temperature was minus 20, but when they arrived in Tajikistan the outdoors temperature was 20 above. The specific weight of the gasoline in the warm republic naturally increased. However, the weight entered upon arrival was the same specific weight given for the gasoline in Ufa. This resulted in a considerable surplus.

Gasoline was simply stolen from the loading and dumping shop of the Dushanbe petroleum base which primarily operated "from left to on the side." The gasoline was transported from there and sold through filling stations requiring payment. The services rendered by the drivers who brought the "illicit" gasoline there were paid for at a prearranged rate for each truckload. Part of the stolen money went to pay for bribes.

Why were these "gasoline games" allowed to go on for such a long time? Is it possible that we have too few control organizations? In fact, according to the most modest estimates each rayon of the city has considerably more of such organizations than they do gas stations. And what about the control-inspection department of the republic's GKNP? It, however, is subordinate to its own state committee, so it turns out that there really wasn't any control there either. When Ravil Gilmanov from the republic's Ministry of Finance counter-intelligence administration wanted to check the gasoline's purity in 1985, he learned that only the Tajik GKNP had the necessary inspection equipment. He was advised to use the simplest method possible for checking the gasoline, i.e., stick his finger into the gasoline. If the fuel is pure, it will evaporate and will leave a white spot on the finger. But into whatever gas station Ravil poked his finger, he recalled, there was almost always a short-run or the gasoline was mixed with solar oil. That is the reason that one of the gas station attendants was proudly driving around the streets of Dushanbe in a white Mercedes.

... On June 14, 1983 in the conference room of the collegium of the Tajik State Committee for Petroleum Products, the director of one of the petroleum bases fired seven pistol shots and killed the chairman of the State Committee, his deputy, the chief of the control-inspection department, his own chief accountant, and then shot himself. An inquest showed that a regularly scheduled inspection of the petroleum base disclosed the specific weight of petroleum products had been illegally increased. The director was relieved of his position. And he took revenge for being fired.

Two days after the tragedy 18,000 rubles were discovered in the office of the slain chairman of the republic's GKNP. The source of that money remains a mystery up to the present day. K. Amonov, who had been a deputy, became the new chairman. It was just his luck that he was not on that ill-fated collegium. But, the fact that Amonov is currently under investigation is no accident.

"Did you understand that you would have to be answerable for all that happened," I asked a former senior gas station attendant at one of the stations.

"What we were doing there was in the order of things. They came to us for an inspection and found that in accordance with the records one of our stations sold more gasoline in one day than two stations would ever sell. Well, I thought, all is lost. But no, it turned out all right..."

Everything was done fully in the open. For example, one of the electricians refused "to fiddle around" [khimichit] with the meter readings. He put caps on so it could not be tampered with. At the same time he issued an ultimatum that his "illicit" payments should be increased. A meeting of the agitated collective took place at the station where the collective angrily denounced the "unworthy"

behavior of the electrician. After clamorous debates he was called upon not to set himself up against his work comrades. The "high-handed" electrician admitted his error and agreed to the former "rate" and removed the screw caps.

The gas station workers had a short run almost every day which they had to cover out of their own pockets. Still, no one had as yet been voluntarily relieved of their station jobs. On the contrary, in order to get this kind of "unprofitable" work many even paid to get a position there because they knew that there always a chance of earning "illicit" income at the pump.

And there one begins to think about this situation and raise questions. Since there was a system of embezzlement, that meant that there could not be any system of protection. Would order be restored to the GKNP system now that the procuracy was getting involved? It would seem that all of the main organizers behind the thefts have been arrested and are giving testimony. The dishonest person who was at the head of operation has been removed. A new, honest chairman has been appointed. Now the system too is operating honestly. But what if that position is suddenly occupied by a dishonest person? Does that mean that there is another risk of embezzlement?

As had been done before, short runs of gasoline are being dispensed at the pumps and gas is being mixed with diesel fuel. Procuracy officials admitted that embezzlement was continuing along with the investigation in progress. Bosh himself related how he and a friend had their tank filled, but after driving for a short while the car stopped because the gas was mixed with water.

That sort of thing happened not only in Tajikistan. I asked a single question of many inspectors from the USSR State Committee for Petroleum Products who had come from various republics and oblasts: "And what is situation in your area?" Some simply declined to answer. Others said: "Not on such a large scale. Not so openly, but..."

From one year to the next activists from "Komsomol Projector" together with authorities of the USSR State Committee for Petroleum Inspection, the organization for Combating the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation [BKSS], the State Automobile Inspection, and the people's control have been conducting massive inspections on the use of petroleum products. Their figures are mind-boggling. For example, in May and June of last year alone, almost a half million persons participated in raids which exposed about 17,000 various violations and withdrew state coupons worth a million liters of gasoline, and a half million tons of fuel were put back into circulation. Then there were more inspections, more mind-boggling figures, and criminal proceedings were once again instituted against the guilty, but the flow of violations did not wane. "Komsomol Projector" has been undertaking this kind of activity

annually but with little results. Last year approximately 1,200 decrees were issued by various organizations in various republics of the country concerning data of check point inspection raids. The raid instructions indicated all of the probable places where the dishonest hands of dealers might be nabbed. But we know that as year goes along the loopholes are not being closed. The methods employed for embezzlement remain the same and they continue to be just as effective as before.

Is the fact that the "loopholes" are not being closed due to fact that a very large number of people have a stake in them?

"In general, each gas pump is a delayed action bomb for any chairman of the republic GKNP," explained one of the inspectors. "It could go off at any minute. Even the most honest gas station worker can always be imprisoned if desirable. But it is also possible not to imprison him if only he doesn't start to overstep himself." Operating within the framework of the law, he will still be earning supplemental income every day.

The inspector also explained that the gasoline level is being measured by antediluvian instruments. The reservoir capacities are measured with large errors. As much as it would be desirable, the old pumps do not dispense gasoline under one liter with any accuracy. And what is most important, if one compares the amount of gas at the station reservoirs to the record books, there will always be discrepancies. Because of the fact that the specific weight of the gasoline constantly changes in relation to the temperature, one finds surpluses in one place and shortages in another. Even if a section of the Organization to Combat the Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation were opened for each gas station, the station attendants would still have "illicit" earnings.

...People usually say — "it had the effect of a drop of water... In our situation it is more like a drop of gasoline. And even if it is mixed with water, it also affects problems of the economy.

Counter-intelligence administration inspectors of the republic's Ministry of Finance who, at the request of the procuracy, studied the operations of the GKNP, found that a number of ministries and departments of the republic were annually receiving more than their quota of gasoline and were selling the gas to outside organizations. Why were they doing that? First Deputy Chairman of the republic GKNP B. Kadreshov explained that sometimes we do not receive petroleum products on the promised delivery dates. For example, the records for the first half of the year show that we have had short deliveries of grade AI-93 gasoline whereas we have had overruns of grades 72 and 76.

But if there is no 93 grade gasoline left at the end of the 2nd quarter, that means that the drivers' coupons lose their validity. As you know, we have two types of filling stations: In one type state-owned vehicles are fueled with

the use of coupons, while in the other type gas is paid for in cash. But coupons not redeemed for gasoline lead to a very natural coupon inflation. They either fall in value, where drivers are willing to give 40 liters worth of coupons for 20 liters, or they have no value at all. At the end of the month the surplus coupons become just so much paper.

One cannot always count on available resources which are in essence not unlike those very same coupons. That is the reason for the proposal made by the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee to switch from centralized material and technical supply to wholesale trade.

But officials in the republic GKNP objected that "since gasoline is a commodity in short supply it will not be sold wholesale. That is what we have reserves for, in order to economize on petroleum products. And we shall fine those ministries and departments who receive gasoline in excess of the reserves and then sell it to outside organizations."

Then why have coupons at all? After all, we already have a coupon with which one can buy everything — it is called the "ruble." Why is it that state organizations that own vehicles cannot economize on gasoline, but owners of private cars economize on every liter? It is simply that gasoline costs less at coupon-payment filling stations than at the cash payment stations. Would it not pay to have the same price everywhere? Just let everything cost exactly what it is supposed to cost. Drivers of state vehicles should be issued the necessary amount for gasoline so that any amount saved could be kept as a bonus. Or perhaps, check books should be issued. Then there would be a direct interest in fuel economy. The real effectiveness of this kind of arrangement has already been proven by some of the fraternal socialist countries, like Hungary, for example.

"A former gas station attendant who was investigated in an embezzlement case within the republic GKNP system wept in the procuracy office saying: "Lord, if I only knew that it would turn out this way. After all, I have always lived an honest life. It was difficult but honest. But these two weeks in the investigation ward! I start crying as soon as I think about it. Whatever you want, but not this. Others say — you fool! Why are you "stabbing" yourself, you're not the only one you are sinking. But I don't even have the strength to lie. I want it all to end as soon as possible. Now, I wouldn't take a job at the pump for even a million." But in fact how much had been stolen there altogether? No one could answer that question.

6289

#### **Moldavian MVD Minister Interviewed on Youth Crime**

*18000044a Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA  
in Russian 18 Oct 87 p 3*

[Interview with Moldavian Minister of Internal Affairs G. Lavranchuk by Ye. Zamura: "Only Together, Acting in Concert"]

[Text] Two-thirds of all violations of the law in the republic today are committed by young people under the age of 30 years. How are militia organs fighting this phenomenon? What can be done in order to cultivate in young people a respect for the law? Our correspondent discusses these things with republic Minister of Internal Affairs G. Lavranchuk.

[Question] The organs of internal affairs are planning to create special subdivisions to fight negative phenomena in the youth sphere. Georgiy Ivanovich, what impelled law enforcement organs to take such a step?

[Answer] In the last 2 years we have achieved a certain reduction in crime. Fewer individuals than before took part in criminal acts. What has promoted this? Above all, strengthening of organization and discipline in the economy, elimination of drunkenness, and increased demands on cadres of militia associates.

But it is too soon to feel secure. Unfortunately, the number of crimes which inflict particular damage on society—theft, embezzlement, and robbery of state and private property—has not been reduced. The number of violations of the law among young people is increasing. Young people commit half of all murders, 75 percent of all theft, robbery, and muggings, and 35 percent of embezzlement. This year alone over 2,000 individuals under the age of 30 years, of whom two-tenths were teen-agers, were in medical drying-out stations because it was necessary in order, literally, to save their lives. Just as many—2,000 minors—were picked up by the militia for drinking alcohol or for being drunk in a public place.

In short, the problem of crime is a problem of educating the younger generation. This is why we are giving such serious study to the social roots of law violations among young people and questions of preventing them.

[Question] Quite recently, our society has begun to speak openly about specifically youth forms of law violations: drug addiction, prostitution, "the black market." Are there any successes in combatting these?

[Answer] The majority of drug abusers who are on the books are younger than 30 years old, and one out of four is a minor. In September of this year we conducted a survey which showed that more than 13 percent of upper class high school students in Kishinev have used drugs, even if only once in their lives. It is alarming to note that a number of young people in their questionnaires gave thorough information about drug substances and means of preparing them, and the saddest thing of all—they called them a way of getting close to people, of brightening up leisure time.

Regrettable as it is, our republic has become one of the regions which are sources of raw materials from which drugs of plant origin find their way into the rest of the country. Selective investigations have shown that in

certain population points many marijuana-growing centers remain untouched. These plantings were not destroyed in time. As a result, the number of the drug's victims is increasing. Quite recently, A. Golovko and N. Sementsul died from the use of drugs, while 26-year-old A. Melnik was killed by his fellow drug users.

In the fight against drug abuse and prostitution, we rely above all on the force of the law. The legal foundation for preventing drug abuse is fairly well worked out. But the question of applying the appropriate article of the legal code to young women who have made a profession of the "nighttime trade" remains open. We can bring criminal charges against such a "night butterfly" only for parasitism, hooliganism, or violation of passport regulations—in a word, indirectly.

As is well-known, the phenomenon of a well-developed character—and this certainly relates to area—frequently lags behind rapidly developing life. This is why we must wait until we have legal foundations for bringing personal charges against individuals who come into contact with foreign citizens, buy things from them and resell them at speculative prices, or with organizers of the notorious "thimble" game. The latter also frequently escape with a slight scare: the law threatens them with an insignificant fine.

[Question] Here is a fact: recently women have begun more and more frequently to step over the line of the law. How is this explained? Are these really the consequences of "emancipation?"

[Answer] Alas, here too the weaker sex is encroaching on the prerogatives of the stronger. It is sad that young women are more and more frequently becoming the "heroines" of court cases investigating violations of the law which were formerly considered exclusively male territory: hooliganism, mugging, even murder and assault. Quite recently the newspaper *Sovetskaya Moldaviya* reported the names of two young women who robbed and killed a casual acquaintance of theirs.

Do you recall the well-known sketch by publicist I. Rudenko "*The Woman Kills*"? Yes, it happens, and she does kill. This is a social phenomenon awaiting thorough study by sociologists and psychologists. But on the whole, many processes which are occurring in the economy and social life are reflected, as in a mirror, in the chronicles of crime. That is why now, when life is changing literally before our very eyes, militia workers must also restructure.

[Question] Today much is being said and written about the questionable forms of children's and young people's lives, about their informal, uncontrolled associations. These cannot be called a phenomenon of recent years: there have always been household companies, special interest groups. But it is particularly now that we have

begun to be disturbed by the morals being cultivated in these groups, the logic governing their members' behavior, and their value orientations. How can this be explained?

[Answer] Unfortunately, such associations, once again, turn out to be authoritarian leadership, they propagate a cynical attitude toward the values of our life, the cult of brute force, and breaking the law becomes the norm. Let us recall the events connected with the Kagul "boxers" group, the recent ugly battle at the Kishinev Yunost Dance Hall. Coming out of the Pioneers' buildings and young technicians' stations specially constructed for them, teen-agers frequently fall under the influence of the uncrowned kings of the basements and gutters, the organizers of "wall to wall" [free-for-all] fights. Why does "hard rock" here so frequently turn into drug abuse, while cold steel has become the attribute of "heavy metal"? I think that the problem is that children in informal associations are held together not by actions but by idleness. We adults cannot help but see that this is our fault too.

This year the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs came out with a proposal to turn over motor vehicles which have been written off to teen-age organizations for free. They would be sold for a symbolic price. We also proposed that the appropriate departments strengthen the extremely weak material base of teen-age clubs and send young people to work there on Komsomol passes. In addition, organs of internal affairs have participated actively in the project implemented by the Kishinev Gorispolkom to place teen-agers between 15 and 17 years old in jobs during the school holidays.

Many people regard the work of the militia with young people merely as the use of punitive measures. As one can see from the foregoing, such is not the case.

[Question] Nevertheless, Georgiy Ivanovich, young people frequently do not trust us adults, including, sometimes, responsible individuals from law enforcement organs. How can we increase the authority of the militia in the eyes of the younger generation?

[Answer] The authority of militia workers depends above all on their professionalism. It must be noted that people with specialized education now form the overwhelming majority of people coming to work in organs of internal affairs whereas several years ago all of that was different. It is true that a better level of training of the rank-and-file militia staff remains to be desired. This is largely connected with the quality of work of the educational center of the Moldavian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the weak material base of this establishment.

Instances of violation of social law on the part of militia workers get instantaneous publicity, and have a harmful impact on our authority. Conversely, the work of true professionals—and we have many of these—frequently

remains in the dark. This is why we are grateful to the mass information media for any stories about our best associates. Probably we should also meet more frequently with young people to tell them about the profession of militia work.

[Question] Clearly, this could also influence the work of various volunteer legal associations of young people—operative Komsomol contingents of voluntary patrols, and the Komsomol Prozhektor. Recently their activity has dropped off markedly. How would you explain this?

[Answer] If we are talking about the Komsomol patrols, the primary reason is the elimination of advantages in the form of additional paid leave. As we see, the notorious 3 days was the motive which prompted many of them to help the militia.

An overwhelming number of petty thefts in production today are discovered by the militia, including the extra-departmental guard. And less than 1 percent of them are discovered by the labor collectives themselves. Is this right? The poor work of many Komsomol Prozhektor posts and operative contingents is a direct result of the work of Komsomol organizations and the level of sponsorship over them by party organs. Clearly we sometimes do a poor job in inculcating a sense of patriotism and civic spiritedness in young men and women, if they can look at pilferers or walk past hooligans indifferently.

Great assistance in the work with teen-agers is being rendered to the militia and to the school of specialized operative contingents in investigations into cases with minors by "pedagogical contingents" of Komsomol members. The overall reduction of numbers of their activists clearly has its good aspects: the "ballast" has left, the enthusiasts have stayed. On the whole, we are being freed from any sort of formalism in the work with young people, especially minors. In the near future we face the task of likewise reexamining the makeup of social educators. Imagine: almost half of them are pedagogues by profession and by job description. Well, isn't this a fiction? We have also come out with a proposal to introduce various forms of incentives to social educators in labor collectives, and mandatory sentencing of them in cases in which they are accessories to commit a crime or violate the law.

[Question] The legal education of young people in educational establishments today is organized in a largely formal manner. On the whole, obviously, these and many other problems of indoctrinating young people cannot be solved alone, by the efforts of a single ministry or department....

[Answer] A listing of such problems could go on for a long time. For example, we are appealing to many departments, calling for the creation in the republic of specialized treatment-educational establishments for teen-age lawbreakers with psychological anomalies. Incidentally, this is a serious problem: every year up to 250

such children commit crimes. It is impossible to apply any measures provided for by the law to them, and where is the guarantee that the crime will not be committed repeatedly?

An example of successful collaboration of many departments is the integrated program "Family," which contains a system of measures to create a more healthy atmosphere in so-called "bad" families. We would like for the Komsomol to become more active in implementing the program, to give us more help. After all, this year alone, every fifth crime in the republic was committed by a member of the Komsomol, and in Dumbravenskiy and Ryshkanskiy rayons—every other one. This is a consequence of poor indoctrinational work, unorganized leisure time, and a liberal attitude toward drunkenness. Young people's moral health must be strengthened by the joint efforts of the militia, social organizations, parents, pedagogues, and physicians.

12255

### PRAVDA Complains of Cuts in Postal Service

18000044b Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 87 p 2

[Article by PRAVDA correspondent N. Mironov: "There Will Be No Applause"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk—Recently a number of telephone calls resounded in the Dnepropetrovsk PRAVDA office. The same question was voiced again and again: where have the mailboxes vanished to? There was no thought to suggest that criminal plotters were responsible. It was necessary to ask the men in charge.

"The boxes were removed from places where they were unprofitable. Does it make any sense to send a vehicle to such a box if only two letters are put into it per day?" This is how T. Zankovaya, deputy chief of the oblast Administration of Communications explained the situation.

Indeed, a weighty argument. Who today would take a stand against profitability? We are also in favor of profitability. Just one question still disturbs us: why must it be achieved at the cost of impinging on our conveniences?

When the post office increased its rates for all forms of services—sending letters, telegrams and parcels—we were assured that this was connected with the increased expenses for technical outfitting of communication links. They said that the flow of correspondence had increased, and so this became necessary. This is acceptable. But a client has the right to expect that this technical outfitting will bring the services closer to him. And what is occurring in reality?

Let us consider the question of the time required to deliver letters—it has not been reduced but rather continues to increase. Let us discuss the conveniences for which we are paying. First the mailbox outside the doors of the apartment was lowered to the first story entrance. It is too difficult for the mailman to run up the stairs, they told us. But it is not difficult for the clients? In a country of almost 60 million pensioners. For many of them it is hard to go down to the mailbox and climb up again to their apartments.

Then a new "reform" took place. For telephone services and sending telegrams, for example, they ceased to bring notices which you could pay for at any time and at any communications link. Now it is necessary to go to a specific postal department, page through a "ledger" full of holes in search of the proper telephone number, and see when and for how much the machine has calculated your bill. And God forbid you should forget to run into the post office in time, or get sick, or have to leave town on a business trip—your telephone will be cut off without warning. And what is an individual in his declining years supposed to do? If he had, as before, the notice in his hands, he could take advantage of the services of the mailman that he formerly could call to his door. But....

And here is a third innovation—the disappearance of the customary mailbox which used to hang at the corner of the building. Now one has to go to it. Even in December of last year, there were 1,136 mailboxes functioning in Dnepropetrovsk. Now only 891 remain.

"We are commanded by the orders of the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Communication," comments T. Zankovaya, showing a decision made by the board on 13 May 1985. Under Point 3 we read: "To reexamine the network of mailboxes in order to distribute them rationally in cities."

"But why isn't 'rational distribution' perceived from the point of view of the client?" I ask Taisiya Fedorovna. "For what exactly has he begun to pay more?"

"Well, you can see our difficulties," says Zankovaya, not yielding. "The volumes of mail are increasing, while the funds for gasoline are reduced, and the quantity of vehicles remains at the exact same level for the entire 5-year period. We have to get out of the dilemma somehow...."

And they are doing well at "getting out of the dilemma." Whereas before the mail was removed from mailboxes three to four times per day, now it is removed one time. And sometimes even once in 2 days. What complaints can there be, if gasoline is not provided? They complain that 200 mailmen are not enough. But would they like to get them, if the wage fund thus economized on then goes to increase the salary of other people? But, perhaps, the post office is incurring losses because its work has become so "difficult"? Nothing of the sort! In 1981, the

plan of receipts for postal services was exceeded by 3.7 percent and totaled 27.4 million rubles, while 5 years later it was exceeded by 5.2 percent and totaled 34 million rubles.

Profitability, as we see, is triumphant. Only somehow we don't feel like applauding such successes.

12255

### **Baltic Officials Urge Formation of All-Union Ecology Committee**

*18000036 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 16 Oct 87 p 2*

[Interview with Kazis Ginyunas, head of the State Committee for the Protection of Nature in Lithuania, and Kheyno Luyk, employee of the Ministry of Forestry and the Protection of Nature of Estonia, by B. Peskov, journalist: "To Come to an Understanding with Nature"; date and place not specified.]

[Text] The two people represented here head up departments concerned with the protection of nature. Kazis Ginyunas is the head of the State Committee for the Protection of Nature in Lithuania, Kheyno Luyk works in the Ministry of Forestry and the Protection of Nature of Estonia. Both departments are the oldest ones in our country. In Lithuania, the committee has been in existence for 30 years already. For more than 20 years already the ministry in Estonia has been working. What is the view on the protection of nature of people who have impressive work experience, what do they propose to solve one of the most acute problems of our life? Our correspondent talks with Kazis Ginyunas and Kheyno Luyk.

[Journalist] We are standing on the threshold of the creation of an all-union committee for the protection of nature. How do you assess this?

[Luyk] We welcome it, certifying the delay of approximately 20 years. It has been clear for a long time: A union committee is necessary. It was paradoxical not to have a gear in the enormous economic mechanism of the country that would regulate the processes of nature management. The losses because of this are very great.

[Journalist] Can they be designated?

[Luyk] Briefly one can name only symbols, that which has come to be called the tip of the iceberg. Baykal, Ladoga, the loss of the Aral Sea, the loss of fish in the Sea of Azov and Sevan, the loss of an enormous quantity of small rivers, the threatening pollution of the great water arteries, such as, for example, the Neman here in the Baltic—water has proved to be the most vulnerable part of nature. These are all peaks of the problem, but how many of them have up to now been designated as "hills", visible only to the experienced eye, and sometimes it is not obvious to them that they exist.

[Journalist] Why has the steam in the boiler overheated to such an extent?

[Luyk] It is simple to answer this question today. Things have been run in such a way that all errors, mistakes and carelessness have been paid for at the expense of nature. The abundance of resources has corrupted us, it has not taught us how to manage. In the higher economic echelons, they understood at whose expense we are staying afloat, and they did not want real efforts to protect nature, they believed: The protection of nature is a spoke in the wheel of the economy. . . . And the second serious question. The problems of ecology in the world, for some time, have become politics. And in our country there arose the temptation to depict the matter in such a way that the misfortunes with nature exist "in their country", but that everything is in order in our country. One could play this game for some time, the country is large, and everything that it was desirable to hide was hidden, was masked by the territory, by the abundance of natural wealth. But in a developed industrial power this could not be continued long. The misfortunes accumulated. They had already become apparent to everyone, but nevertheless there existed a tabu and the prohibition to talk about them. Meanwhile, in matters relating to the protection of nature, special glasnost is needed. Every mistake and every error should be exposed and discussed in order to avoid new mistakes. This was not done. This is why we now have what we have. The problem has grown to such proportions that it seriously disturbs and worries all of us. The question of the committee did not arise today. It goes back to the times of a twenty-year-long antiquity. Not as a compliment to you, but for the sake of truth it must be noted that *Komsomolskaya Pravda* always, from the very beginning, has occupied a clear and consistent position on this problem: The creation of the committee has become urgent, the committee is needed, it is necessary. Today this necessity is recognized by all.

[Journalist] Well, what has been the experience of the existence of the committee and the ministry of [forestry and] the protection of nature been in your republics?

[Luyk] How to put it briefly. . . . The committee in our republic was created in 1957. But soon after conflicts and arguments we understood: Control functions alone in the protection of nature are insufficient. Thus the present ministry came into being. This is not only an organizing and controlling, but also almost a scientific-production institution. We have not only carried out an "inventorying" of all natural resources (many of them we have protected), but we are also taking part in the economic and ecological justification of economic projects, where we are actively representing and protecting the interests of nature. "What do the ecologists think about this?" is the usual question to the ministry. Recently the question is heard especially frequently. We see: There is a need for our work, and our position is taken into account. And this must be regarded as a norm if we want to come to an understanding with nature.

[Ginyunas] In a life that is passing quickly, 30 years is a very long time. In creating the Committee for the Protection of Nature in Lithuania in 1957, what were we thinking about? We were thinking about how to protect our fauna—the birds and wild animals, and to protect the most valuable corners of nature. That was the—by present conceptions—small task at that time. During that year we did not think about the fact that agriculture will become one of the most dangerous polluters of nature. We did not think about the fact that the Neman will carry so much sewage into the Courland Lagoon that the pike-perch and breams will come to the surface dead, and that the water will take on the color of green. We did not think about the fact that heavy metals will fall into the water one after the other—for example, mercury from fluorescent lighting—more than a million units of them are dumped every year. We did not know then how double-edged the knife of chemistry is. Unknown were the destructive acid rains. We did not think that we will have to quarrel with the melioration specialists in saving the landscape of Lithuania. Thirty years ago, the word "ecology" did not have the meaning it has today. Thus, our committee, having begun with a moderate initial task, had to solve new, large, and unexpected tasks.

[Journalist] I conjecture that your path has been covered more with thorns than with roses. . . .

[Ginyunas] Almost that way. The problem of protecting some animals we solved, it can be said, successfully, and without fighting the hunters, but having made them allies. The forests of Lithuania today are full of game. Even animals which had formerly been completely exterminated have appeared in our republic. From the Voronezh Reserve, for example, we brought and set out beavers. And now there are so many of them that their planned removal from nature is being conducted. During the past year, we handed over 2,000 beaver pelts to the state. Pheasants have become common in our republic. The number of elks, roe, and wild boars is being maintained at the upper limit that is being allowed. The foresters are even beginning to say: "They are harming the forests." In spite of the widespread opinion that "the hunter is an enemy of nature", we have demonstrated that a civilized hunter is not an enemy, but a friend of nature.

[Journalist] But living nature is not only hunting game. It is also the lark over the field, the lapwing and the landrail on the marsh, the nightingale and crane, the frog, the hedgehog. . . .

[Ginyunas] Yes, we have tried to something for all of them, not losing sight of the chief one of the mammals—man. Everything that lives needs a healthful environment for habitation, clean water, and rest. But here we experienced thorns. With the intensification of agriculture and with the enormous impact of industry, the environment for habitation of everything existing on earth is being degraded. Our committee, comprehending the newly brought-to-light tasks as it went along, tried to

justify its appointment. But often, very often, we also found ourselves to be in the role of Don Quixote. Our arguments for the protection of nature were set aside—"the interests of the state require it." Everywhere we were superfluous, everywhere we prevented "the advance of progress." To work in these conditions, you understand yourself, was difficult. But had we stood by idly, the ecological situation in Lithuania would be much worse today.

[Journalist] Your positive experience is very important.

...

[Ginyunas] It was attained in the beginning by a lesson. We said: "Here you see, you were warned, but you did not listen. What was the outcome?" And we pointed to the "broken wash-tub." This is how it was, for example with the draining of the upper marshes. They straightened us out: "Don't interfere!" But nothing wanted to grow on the drained land. The result: Funds buried in the land and a ruined nature. When such cases accumulated, people started to listen to us. But is such a path of knowledge admissible? Bismarck said: "Only a fool learns from his mistakes." But more often than not we become smart with hindsight. Is the example with the swamps characteristic only for Lithuania? And the dust storms! From the unthinking ploughing up of their virgin lands they first found out in America. Did we take into account this bitter experience in our vast Asiatic plains? Not in the least. We ploughed the virgin land so that the dust storms reaped in our country.

[Journalist] We learned, getting lumps on our forehead.

..

[Ginyunas] Fortunately, in Lithuania it has not always been that way. Where they followed our advice, they began to obtain good harvests, without doing damage to nature. Such examples also have a good effect. During the past few years they have started to listen to the committee. In the economic councils of the republic we have begun to have not only a consultative voice. We have found a common language with the land improvement specialists. Now they do not strive to reduce everything in nature to straight lines, to uproot every woods that stands in the way. They saw: We are helping to preserve the beauty of our native landscape. There are already no wars between us. They come to the committee for counsel. And this is no small victory. In general, I think, in many cases the Committee's voice should be decisive in matters regarding the protection of nature.

[Luyk] I would like to develop this thought in regard to the activity of the future union committee. It must have a good curb on the departments. The decisions of the committee with respect to the protection of nature must be obligatory for them. Everybody now understands how complex matters of the protection of nature are, and conflicts are unavoidable in some cases. They must be submitted to the judgment of the government. Cases are possible when even the government will not be in a

position to decide how to act correctly. Then the important fundamental dispute must be submitted to the judgment of the community. This must become the norm. What is more, all large projects with unforeseen ecological consequences must without fail be discussed on a broad basis. And in the confirmation of projects it must be weighed whether all points of view have been taken into account.

[Journalist] I would speak here also about the wisdom of retreat. . . .

[Ginyunas] Yes. It is important to look ahead and not to make mistakes. But in nature management we are still frequently compelled to feel our way. Mistakes, unfortunately, are possible. It is important to be able to acknowledge them when they are obvious and to retreat from them in good time. The Americans, for example, gave up on the construction of a canal in Florida, which promised to reduce the path from the Gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic. Considerable funds were invested in the project, but they gave it up as a bad job. And the people welcomed this. The same in our country with the redirection of the northern rivers to the south. But with respect to [Lake] Baykal, it seems to me, we did not have enough courage and resoluteness to act in the same way. We took the path of a half-measure. Meanwhile the problem of pure water in the world will inevitably become aggravated. To have the Baykal water in reserve means to have capital of enormous significance in the state. It would be wise to close all operating industrial projects on Baykal and not to build any new ones. To declare Baykal a reserve. And not simply to declare it a reserve, but to arrange a Siberian National Park at Baykal. The roads, hotels, camping-grounds, water lines, and advertising—everything invested in this will pay for itself, including in foreign exchange revenues, for there are fewer and fewer places on earth that are untouched by man. People will strive to come to these places like the Muslims to Mecca.

[Journalist] I completely agree with you in regard to Baykal, Kazis Pranovich. But let us exchange views also with respect to the following question. Today, when the problems of ecology are on everybody's tongue, the illusions have arisen that the entire country can be declared a reserve. . . .

[Luyk] A correct remark. I follow the press attentively. A certain naivete in the judgments concerning nature management can be observed. What is present there is a maximalism which is explained by a multitude of violations, omissions, and abuses, and a maximalism which is explained by the desire to protect nature against the violations that we are inflicting on it. But complete prohibitions and complete conservation of natural resources are impossible. We must obtain bread and meat, we want to travel in automobiles, we want to live in well-equipped homes that are lighted and heated, and we have become used to rapid air transport. This process of life is irreversible. The point is that the blessings of

civilization should not crush the paramount values of life: Clean air, clean water, the health of the forest, the opportunity to hear birds sing and to see the footprints of a beast. How get out of this contradiction? Indeed, it can lay a trap for mankind even sooner than nuclear energy. The one way out: The rational and reasonable utilization of nature, the reduction to, a minimum, of the damage done to it.

[Journalist] What ways do you see?

[Luyk] We must effectively interfere everywhere, where we have received a bad legacy in nature management or have done something very stupid not so long ago ourselves. The closing of the paper manufacture enterprise on [Lake] Ladoga is an example of such painful, but healing surgery. As far as strategy is concerned, there is one way: To develop the economy in such a manner so as to inflict minimum damage. I listen with skepticism and even with irritation to the ringing phrase: "Let us augment our natural resources!" Such words are like paper money not backed with a gold guarantee. In developing the economy, we will inevitably inflict damage on nature. The question is: What damage? How great will it be? And this is why everything must be carefully weighed and thought through. All of us must be on our guard now, during the transition of the enterprises to self-support and self-financing. A situation must not arise where the enterprises will increase their prosperity, their profits and income at the expense of nature, to skim the cream off in the extraction of mineral raw materials, to economize on purification installations, etc. Here nature must have its advocate and defender. The role of the committee, if it will be created, is seen as extremely great.

In the solution of specific regional problems of nature management, it seems important to me to underscore the role of the local Soviets. Frequently people at the local level have a better perception of what is good and what is bad than one can see from the greatest tower.

[Journalist] These are routine affairs. But what about the strategy? Industrial production will grow, and natural resources will diminish, like shagreen leather. Conclusion?

[Luyk] There is a conclusion. The KPD [coefficient of useful operation] of nature management is insignificantly small. Only 5 percent are being utilized, the remaining 95 percent, figuratively speaking, are irretrievably lost. Thus, in planning new and reconstructing old enterprises, we must turn to fundamentally new technologies, to resource-saving technologies and technologies that do not pollute the environment. The ideal: Waste-free technologies. Such a path has already been mapped out in the world. In carrying out the restructuring, we must only proceed along this path. Only along this path! It is reasonable to manage and live economically—this is the best and the most correct way of saving nature.

Well, of course, it is of strategic importance for mankind to determine what it must produce, and from what it must abstain. In your essays on America, you, Vasilii Mikhaylovich, correctly wrote: "To feed the wild animal of consumer thinking is impossible." I fully share this thought. In being concerned at present about a sharp increase in the production of consumer goods, we must strategically have our own policy: What must be produced, and what must we give up in the interest of the preservation of nature. A policy of self-limitation in consumption must be cultivated not only in the family, but also in the state as a whole.

[Journalist] Let us return, however, to the matters and goals that are close to us. The committee—that means concrete people, on whom it depends: Will this department be a militant staff for the protection of nature or an ordinary bureaucratic institution. What is the experience here?

[Ginyunas] I think that a great deal will depend on the selection of people. If a detachment of bureaucrats that have been cut from other departments comes to the committee, things are bad. It is very important to bring together under the wings of the committee disinterested people who are devoted to the idea of the protection of nature, who are full of initiative and honest. Then this will be a staff of like-minded persons. It will be easier for it to work, and the committee will prove to be on the level of its tasks. In the Lithuanian Committee, we did not bring such people together at once. But thanks to the selection and the healthy human climate, like-minded persons and fighters joined in the end. I can say with pride and satisfaction: In 30 years there has not been a single case of bribe-taking or abuse of official position for selfish purposes in the LiSSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, not a single inspector of ours has been found guilty of profiting at the expense of nature. In getting acquainted with the protection of nature in Lithuania, Vasilii Mikhaylovich, you met with these people. Did you like them?

[Journalist] Yes, I liked them. Honest, good people, who are devoted to their work. . . . A great deal depends on people, on their energy and moral character, but it is still important how they are organized and toward what goals they are directed. The problems in the protection of nature have accumulated over our heads. What, in your opinion, is it that we need to take up first?

[Luyk] I think the problem of problems is to make the laws protecting nature work. You think—they are very good ones. But you see, all of them remain up to now on paper. The violation of these laws occurs everywhere and daily. But who among us remembers a trial in which an enterprise or a single individual were held responsible for the violation of laws in regard to the protection of nature? Everything has usually ended with the phrase already uttered here: "This is in the interest of the state. . . ." But is the state interested in only the cream being skimmed off from minerals? Is water pollution, soil

erosion, and their poisoning with chemicals in the interest of the state? The diseases of people, infant mortality, the reduction in the life span because of the deterioration of the environment—is this in the interest of the state? The state is the people. And in their interest all of us must act. The committee (and its necessity is obvious) and our legal departments will have to look in all seriousness at how the laws are being carried out and what is to be done for them to be carried out.

[Journalist] In our country we lack clear-cut standards and norms in regard to harmful effluents and contaminants. . . .

[Ginyunas] Yes, this is so. According to my rough estimates, we will have to develop approximately 100 norms and standards for maximum permissible effluents and contaminants. This pertains to chemical fertilizers and pesticides, leakages of heavy metals into nature, the pollution of the air by various sorts of effluents from plant smoke-stacks and automobiles, radioactivity, etc. We must end the practice where standards and norms are adjusted under the possibilities of the enterprise. It happened that the law, as it were, is not violated, but we are breathing impurities, we are eating poor-quality food, and are drinking polluted water. Enterprises must be built and reconstructed with regard to the established norms and standards, but we must not adapt the norms for the enterprises. Here we will have to carry out careful research. And it is not shameful to turn to foreign experience. They will be glad to share all of the findings already obtained. The most productive direction of international cooperation lies in this.

A detail, but an important one: We need analyzer instruments like we need air. We don't have them. And to assess a situation today by eye is impossible. Any Committee for the Protection of Nature, whether a union or republic committee, must have scientific subdivisions equipped with modern laboratories capable of conducting express analyses and of capably controlling the departmental laboratories which, "working for the boss," frequently conceal the true picture of the destruction of nature. Strict and clear-cut norms will discipline all potential polluters. And the punishment must be inevitable—a penalty or even the closing of the enterprise.

[Journalist] The question of penalties. Up to now, the USSR Ministry of Finance sent them to the state budget. . . .

[Luyk] That is a very bad practice. The state moves the money from one pocket to another. Nature does not receive compensation. And what comes of it: We cover our various needs at the expense of nature. Under the committee—a project that is now being discussed by interested departments and representatives of the public—a Fund for the Protection of Nature must without fail be established. The penalty funds and, possibly, also

voluntary payments must be used in it for urgent scientific work, for education and propaganda, for extraordinary assistance to nature (for the improvement of the habitation environment of rare animals, marked by the Red Book), for the improvement of the ecological service, the encouragement of the work of the inspectors for the protection of nature, and various other at present unforeseen important expenditures. It is important, for example, to come to the assistance of enterprises which would be glad not to inflict damage on nature and make both ends meet in management.

[Journalist] In Estonia there is already experience on this account?

[Luyk] There is. In its time, the USSR Council of Ministers, by way of an experiment, gave us permission to set up a fund. It has been in existence for many years. And it has justified itself completely.

[Journalist] Is the fund large? How is it replenished? For what are the means expended?

[Luyk] In 1984, for example, we exacted 1.2 million rubles in fines from enterprises, kolkhozes, from hunters and fishermen, for the violation of nature management. In 1985, from the Sindinskiy Textile Combine alone, which had poisoned a spawning river with discharges, we exacted 800,000 rubles for the fund. All of the means are used to make up for the damage to nature. Among the other expenditures there is the following. In the settlement of Pyarny-Yagupi, a spawning river was polluted by the sewage from a children's institution. There were no funds for the construction of purification installations there. Our fund provided assistance.

[Journalist] Does not at times a temptation arise to penalize when, in the interest of nature, another solution could be found?

[Luyk] We must without fail introduce the inevitability of punishment for damage that is being done to nature into the consciousness of all manufactures and citizens. But, of course, it is by far not always reasonable to have recourse to a penalty. The committee must be guard, and judge, and wise adviser. Here is an example. In Estonia we have a slate production association. After its work, a "lunar landscape" remains. It would be advantageous for the association to pay the penalties and not to engage in the recultivation of the lands. Our ministry seriously studied this problem and persuaded the combine to begin cooperation. The necessary scientific developments have been made. And we have begun the joint struggle for the improvement of nature. The result is impressive: 8,000 hectares of "lunar landscapes" have now been covered with forests, and fish are splashing in the ponds and lakes that have been created. We were able to demonstrate: The recultivation is a more advantageous business than the payment of penalties.

[Journalist] A topical and, evidently, urgent question about prices. The restructuring of the economy of the country will inevitably affect price formation.

[Ginyunas] It will affect it. And we ought to be concerned today with the question of whether the price of the final product of an enterprise will include the price of the natural resources used, or will the resources, as before, remain, as it were, gratis—rake in as many as you like. This question is of paramount importance. If a price will be set for water, ore resources, forests, and energy, and if we establish sufficiently strict control over pollution, the economy of the country, going through the inevitable transition difficulties, will enter on the road of resource-saving and nature-sparing technologies. This is a necessity. Only in this way will we learn to manage well and to preserve nature. There is no other way. And we must urgently think how to become firmly established on this path. The key aspect of the problem is the price of the resources. It must be established.

[Journalist] One can also consider ecological literacy a key aspect. We practically do not have an ecological service today. Mass ecological culture is also on the level of emotions. . . .

[Ginyunas] Yes, you talk, for example, with an agronomist. How to obtain a harvest, that he knows. But you ask him: What must be done to keep nitrates from falling into the water? He is bewildered. They did not teach him this. And he himself is not learning—although life insistently demands this. In Hungary, for example, they are already paying with the poisoning of drinking water for high wheat harvests. And this awaits us inevitably, as soon as we take up intensive technologies. In all management links people are ecologically illiterate. Not long ago, the Institute for the Improvement of Specialists of the National Economy, at our request, organized a cycle of lectures for secretaries of the party raykoms and kolkhoz chairmen. They listen attentively. They say in bewilderment: "But we did not know this. . . ." It is necessary to learn. Not good is the ecological illiteracy of the herdsman who uses up the bushes along the river in feeding his cows. But a hundred times more disastrous is the illiteracy of the kolkhoz chairman, the enterprise manager, and the secretary of the party raykom and party obkom—one signature, one decision that is not well thought through entails frequent irreparable and very great losses to nature.

At projects that are especially dangerous to nature—chemical combines, nuclear power stations, and various other enterprises, there should, without fail, I believe, exist an ecological service specialized in terms of the production profile. What is more, every large enterprise that potentially threatens nature must have a specialized ecological service. All projects of the national economy, any construction, any new technology, machines and mechanisms that are being introduced into our life and economy must go through an ecological expert examination. If they can seriously harm nature, a red light must

be switched on. An ecological service must become an indispensable part of our numerous departments. The Committee for the Protection of Nature must become the main adviser of the state in matters of ecology.

[Luyk] A problem I would examine still more broadly. The committee, of course, must be both a strict inspector and a wise adviser. But it is impossible for one committee to shoulder the burden of the protection of nature. It must be borne by all together—the committee, the numerous branches of the national economy of the country, and every man. The preservation of nature and a healthful environment for the habitation of man is impossible without broad ecological literacy, without the general culture of the people. How are we to carry out this campaign to abolish this illiteracy? In one day, in one year we will not achieve anything. But if we feel: In our relations with nature we have reached an extremely dangerous limit, then something needs to be done.

I am placing my hope on the young people. I know that in our republic the young people are very active in matters of the protection of nature. This energy must be directed into the necessary channel. I cannot conceive of the work of the entire Komsomol without ardent, interested participation in the saving of our natural resources.

Well, and our organizational affairs. . . . The Committee for the Protection of Nature? Good! But together with its formation, I would propose to create a central specialized publishing house "Priroda" [Nature]. Books on ecology, biological reference works, reference works for the identification of plants and animals, all sorts of textbooks, literature shaping new thinking in relation to nature, and, finally, natural history classics are needed like bread. Something is being published. But much appears that is accidental, not very well thought out, and frequently not absolutely vital. But serious books are sold out not in a day, but in an hour—such is the hunger for publications about nature and our interrelationships with her. I think I am not the first to talk about the creation of a specialized publishing house. I conjecture, the State Publishing House will cite shortages of paper and printing capacities. Accepting these arguments with understanding, we must nevertheless insist: We have a case before us where, as they say, it is necessary to search out reserves, to regroup forces and possibilities, and to give up something less necessary today. If we say that the problem of the preservation of the environment is taking us literally by the throat, if in terms of importance it stands immediately behind a nuclear catastrophe, then we must treat it accordingly. I would like for our voice to be heard both in the State Publishing House and where Komizdat [the Committee Publishing House] can be advised and assisted.

Parallel with the creation of the committee, it would be worthwhile to think also about screen production—the specialized output of naturalist films and video materials. Now these films are being made in an uncoordinated

manner and accidentally through the efforts of enthusiasts one can count on. Meanwhile the need for such products of good quality is enormous. We need the films for internal consumption. But, as they say, they are also snapped up on the international market. The creation of a specialized study "The World of Nature" would be a very good thing. . . .

[Ginyunas] Another proposal. It would be useful, I think, to have centers of ecological information in Moscow, as well as in the capitals of the republics. And not boring method corners, but entertaining museum centers with the involvement of all the technical and graphic possibilities of our time. Let us call them conditionally Nature Houses. In these houses, the world which gives us to drink, feeds us and makes us happy, would be revealed to man. Construction funds could be collected by subscription, as they previously collected for temples. And these must be temples of the materialist education of man, his education, and his getting accustomed with values which are subsiding and which we must preserve at all costs. Is this within our powers? I think that it is. And we must act, bearing in mind that nature is always right, that it is man who makes mistakes. It is time to correct and have an effect on the mistakes that have already been made, without further making mistakes if possible.

[Journalist] Thank you, Kazis Pranovich, thank you, Kheyno Valdemarovich. We are glad that we have found like-minded persons in you.

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### Abuses Noted In Armenian Sports Education System

18300027a Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian  
17 Sep 87 p 4

[Article by R. Bagdadyan, KOMMUNIST sports commentator: "Three Portraits On One Theme, or On Instances of Protectionism and Poor Cadre Work In Our Republic Sports Organizations"]

[Text] Karina S. was seven years old when her mother first took her to the pool. Karina later became the first member of the weaker sex in Armenia to perform complex dives from the 10-meter board. At 13 she fulfilled the requirements to become a master of sport; coming from her, that was no surprise to anyone. Competing in the adult category for the USSR Cup, she took fourth place.

In 1978 Karina was seriously injured during practice. Cheerless times had come: complex operations in Yerevan, then two more operations in Moscow. Seven years of treatment and visits to specialists. Her diving career was over for good. During this time she graduated from school and then from a physical education institute. Again, the doctors categorically declared that she could not participate in sports, not even as a coach.

Her short yet brilliant sports life had left a deep impression in the girl's spirit. And therefore she had no choice: she had to stay in sports. Karina turned first to Yu. Babayan, chairman of the Ashkhatank Sports League, to which she had previously belonged, and then to G. Mokatsyan, chief of the local trade union council's sports and tourism department, asking that she be hired as an instructor.

For two years she was led on with promises: "when I come back from vacation we will act on your request" or "we are sending one of our staff members to Moscow for the express purpose of creating a staff position for you." The issue of whether to employ her turned into behind-the-scenes wrangling, degenerating to the level of a primitive exchange of insults. Finally losing all hope of assistance from her own sports league, Karina appealed to the republic Sports Committee, but there as well she encountered indifference and apathy. No, she was not turned down outright; on the contrary, she was once again promised assistance. But...? Having gotten a cruel lesson in coldheartedness and bureaucracy, Karina (who is now 25 years old) is still unemployed...

Thus, there turned out to be no place for Karina S. in our republic sports establishment. However, in that same system people with no connection to sports often enjoy privileges. Furthermore, administrative positions are given to outside "specialists" who are incompetent and sometimes even lack the proper specialized training. In support of this, I present the following example of blatant protectionism.

As is well known, the former administrators of our republic Sports Committee were given severe intraparty penalties and relieved of their positions in 1981 on account of poor leadership, violation of state discipline and major errors committed in their supervision of the induction of prominent athletes into the Soviet Army. It would seem that this lesson would have been sufficient, but that was not the case. The new leadership of the Sports Committee has continued the abuses of its predecessors.

Kh. Artyunyan, the son of first deputy chairman A. Ispiryan's driver, was included in the list of athletes performing their military service in the ArSSR. Incidentally, that privilege is only accorded to members of Armenian all-star teams. And the paradox lies in the fact that Kh. Artyunyan, who has never played water polo, wound up as... a member of the republic all-star team for that sport. Furthermore, when seeking admission to the Pedagogical Department of the ArSSR State Physical Education Institute, Kh. Artyunyan showed the admissions commission a skills certificate ranking him as a first-class swimmer. However, entrance exams proved that even that title was false. In order to support his claim to "privileges," Kh. Artyunyan's name had been fictitiously entered on the graduate rolls of the ArSSR School of Higher Sports Mastery as the recipient of a degree in water sports.

Some may ask: will it serve any purpose to dredge up old cases, especially since these things happened over two years ago and instances of flagrant violation of regulations governing the induction of prominent athletes into the Soviet Army, including the aforementioned case, are already under investigation by the board of the ArSSR Sports Committee, and M. Ispiryan has received a severe reprimand for those violations?

I feel that it does serve a purpose, because an opportunity was given to correct this "mistake." However, the correction was made in a most original fashion: Kh. Artyunyan remained in the sports regiment.

Furthermore, at the same meeting the board "requested"(?! the Sports Committee's primary party organization to investigate these cases, evaluate them in a thorough, party-like manner and apply intraparty penalties to those found guilty of abuses. However, the bureau of the primary party organization, in a demonstration of unscrupulous behavior, carried out the board's "request" only partially, investigating only the case of E. Khanyan (who was responsible for the coordination of work with athlete-draftees), ignoring all the others.

Major league sports today are substantially different from what they were 15 years ago; there is a good reason for the growing currency of the term "high achievement sports." Now, at a time when the level of results has declined sharply, major league sports are making greater demands. While remaining amateur in form, sports have become professional (in the positive sense of the word) in substance. And therefore administration at all levels should also become competent and professional.

It seems that everyone realizes this, but at the same time we have begun seeing more and more instances of unprofessional cadre selection at sports schools, the places where the master athletes of the future are trained, where logically the most experienced and prominent specialists should be in charge. Once again, let us look at the facts.

Sh. Bekchyan worked for approximately 10 years as a winter sports instructor, in addition to being a warehouse manager for the republic council of the "Sevan" League. But despite all that he was suddenly appointed director of the Children's and Young People's Wrestling Sports School under the Yerevan Sports Committee, in which position he is still employed.

Flagrant violations of financial discipline have been uncovered at that school. Sh. Bekchyan received... a severe reprimand "for errors committed in cadre training and for poor monitoring of the school's financial operations." Is there perhaps no more suitable candidate for this position in Yerevan than the compromised Bekchyan, or have we run out of wrestling cadres, bemused readers may ask? Of course that is not the case.

Such masters of freestyle and classical wrestling as international-class athletes Arshak Sanoyan, Valeriy Artyunyan, Robert Nersisyan, Pavlik Malyan and many others continue to work as ordinary coaches. So there is a selection to choose from, if only there were a desire to do so. The problem is that Bekchyan is the brother-in-law of Sports Committee deputy chairman M. Ispiryan, and that is obviously the reason why famous masters of sport cannot compete with him.

Unfortunately, the example above is to a certain extent typical of sports schools. For instance, the director of the Specialized Children's and Young People's Figure Skating Sports School under the Yerevan Sports Committee is acrobat S. Khachatryan; the Leninakan Chess School is headed by Yu. Nazaryan, who received his training in the Wrestling Department of the ArSSR State Physical Education Institute and for a long time worked with bicyclists. The director's chair at the trade union-operated Voluntary Physical Education and Sports League's Children's and Young People's Diving Sports School has in recent years been filled by winter sports specialist A. Movsesyan, and now swimmer L. Artyunyan is employed in that position. The Sevan Water Sports School has "promoted" V. Akopyan, who has no higher education whatsoever. On that note I will stop, but I could cite dozens of other, similar examples.

An equally strange situation exists in Kirovakan, where for over seven years now a group of employees at the city stadium, including A. Ayvazyan, its director, embezzled state funds, padded accounts and accepted bribes. These criminals felt themselves to be free to do just as they pleased. They would have probably have continued to be had they not been exposed by local law enforcement organs. Yet each year the "operations" of these con artists were audited. And each time Ayvazyan and his cronies came through completely unscathed. It is especially curious to note that not one of the stadium's employees had specialized physical education training, and Ayvazyan himself had not even completed secondary school. And the strangest thing of all is that this case has still not been investigated by the board of the Armenian Sports Committee, despite the fact that almost one year has passed since a court sentenced the offenders to various prison terms.

Restructuring has declared war on the double standard under which we have lived in recent years: the positions of those people planning to go on living and working in the old way are crumbling. The July (1987) ArSSR CP Central Committee Plenum served as a graphic illustration of the fact that administrators at all levels do not and cannot have any other alternative but honest performance of their civic and professional duties.

And therefore it is now time conduct a program of genuine certification of administrators in our republic's sports establishment. We must carefully analyze the results of their work in recent years, pinpoint the reasons for many

years of poor performance by athletes from the "Ashkhatank," "Spartak" and "Burevestnik" leagues and from entire rayons in various sports. We need to find out why individuals who have provided poor leadership of these volunteer sports leagues for many years were automatically appointed to head their previous administrations when the leagues were merged into the trade union-operated Voluntary Physical Education and Sports League. Generally speaking, we need to get to the bottom of this as soon as possible and with consistent adherence to principle.

Real rectification of the current situation can only be brought about through broad democratization of cadre policy. A by no means minor role in this process should be played by young cadres, who show their best side in their appearances in Soviet and world sports arenas. With their authority and experience they could aid substantially in finding solutions to many problems.

For fairness' sake it should be said that recently there have been some good examples of an objective approach: David Ambartsumyan, an honored master of sport, has been appointed deputy chairman of the State Sports Committee, and the Leninakan Trade Union Voluntary Physical Education and Sports League is now headed by Olympic champion Yuriy Vardanyan. But so far these are merely exceptions to the rule.

We need to remember and be concerned about athletes not just when they are at the zenith of their fame, but also when they have completed their active participation in sports. Athletes should be confident that they will not get the runaround when they come to an administrator with a request or a suggestion. In them — young people who have achieved certain successes in major league sports — we should see a reserve of trained cadres.

It should also be remembered that the problem of cadre selection is not a one-way street. If there is a tendentious approach to it there will always be insurmountable obstacles in the path of major league sports. Because protectionism and patronage give rise to a number of problems which, encouraged by a lack of supervision, deprive sports of their quality, replacing it with dilettantism.

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### **PRAVDA Reader Hits VOA For False Allegations Against USSR**

18000096 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 87 p 5

[Letter by retired worker Yu. Khmel to PRAVDA editorial staff: "It's Dishonorable, Gentlemen!"]

[Text] On the eve of the high-level Soviet-American meeting, the motley and sometimes rather influential forces are apparently stepping up their efforts in the U.S. political arena. These forces are generally opposed to any change for the better in the relations between the two

countries. The hostile *Voice of America* resounds loudly in this chorus. It is to this and other similar radio broadcasts that Makeyevka resident Yu. P. Khmel addresses his open letter.

I don't even know how to address you. In our country the generally accepted form of address is comrade. But what kind of comrades are you to us?! And so, gentlemen, or rather—servants of gentlemen! Addressing you is an ordinary, non-party affiliated citizen of the Soviet Union.

I listen to your broadcasts every now and then. It interests me to know what the ill-wishers have to say about our state. You are very clever at turning things upside down, to make white appear black, and black white. I won't make any unsubstantiated statements, and will deal with the most obtrusive of your materials.

In your broadcasts you make our country out to be such an aggressive red imperialist power which dreams only of enslaving the entire world and of imposing its order on everyone. Yet the military preparations in the USA and in the other NATO states, as well as in Japan, are presented as necessary defensive measures for restraining the "Soviet threat".

Who is restraining whom? It is the very existence of the strong Soviet Union which restrains the realization of the plans for world supremacy which are nurtured in Washington. If we were weak, the imperialists would long ago have pounced upon us like a pack of wolves. But they are afraid. They know that a shattering blow awaits them in response.

I believe they know also that unleashing nuclear war would be tantamount to suicide. The Western moneybags would not go for that. But it is also true that no one can give a 100 percent guarantee that there won't be an error in the computer system, or that some other tragic accident won't happen.

That is why we favor full prohibition and elimination of all nuclear weapons—this sword of Damocles which hangs over mankind.

Let us look farther. Your broadcasts often voice opinions about the enslavement of other USSR national cultures by the Russian culture. What rubbish! You should see what a multi-faceted national culture we have! The Chukchi, Eskimos, Evenk, Uygurs and many others who did not even have a written language before Soviet rule now have national theatres, not to mention musical ensembles.

You are crying that the Russification of the Ukrainians and Belorussians is taking place. But I can tell you that I am a Ukrainian and I have equal command of both Russian and Ukrainian, and I might add that I read more

books in Ukrainian. My son-in-law speaks only Ukrainian, and my daughter—Russian. And this does not bother anyone. We do not have a language barrier. We equally value and love the culture of other peoples, and this enriches us.

My family has friends who are Georgians, Russians, Moldavians, Lezghin, and Azerbaijanians. You probably cannot understand about cooperation of nations, and consequently also the force of this cooperation. Of course, there are still a few nationalists lurking in dark corners, Fascist followers who have not quite been eradicated. Their ideological leaders feed at your troughs.

You often dwell on the column entitled "Looking Into the Past". There, you say, in Russia in the late 20's and early 30's there was mass starvation. It is only now that you have compassion for us, while back then you foretold a quick death for all of us.

You persistently speak of the emigration of the Jews from the USSR. (It is true, before you spoke more about this). Well, it's true that there have been and still are those who hold dear the world of dealers. A world in which, it seems to them, they will all immediately become millionaires. But what remains of their hopes? How many of them who have gotten a taste of "freedom" of the Western type are now wearing out the doorsteps of our embassies in the West and tearfully begging for permission to return to the USSR! And if there are still those who desire to leave the confines of our country, we will say to them: "Good riddance!" An honest worker will not run away from the land which fed and nurtured him.

In your broadcasts you speak of human rights, which you say are being suppressed in the USSR. It isn't true! We adhere strictly to the Common Declaration of Human Rights. We have no unemployment. Every citizen has

the right to housing, education, work and rest. In their old age, all are provided with pensions, and even at an earlier age than in other countries.

In your broadcasts you often savor with such amazement the shortcomings which exist in our country, the short supply of certain goods. We are aware of this ourselves. We don't hide it, and are fighting to eliminate our own shortcomings and difficulties.

You want to convince us that the USA does not wish anyone harm, but is merely protecting its own interests and protecting the freedom of other peoples. We know what kind of freedom you bring to people. In Vietnam there are entire regions which will not return to life for decades. These are dead, horrible, mutilated lands—work done by the hand of the American military machine. And if the USA is "protecting" its interests thousands of kilometers from its borders and has saturated all the continents with military bases, then allow us to protect our interests at least within the confines of our own borders!

Let me also mention your column on terrorism. This topic often resounds in your broadcasts. You tell us that the USA is engaged only in combatting terrorism in all its manifestations. What a laugh this is! We are not so obtuse that we can't tell black from white. Why don't you remember the acts of state terrorism of recent years performed by Washington in the world arena? Remember—Grenada, Libya, and Nicaragua.

So, as they say, stop pouring it on! It is the USA which runs all around the world wielding a club. Don't you see, they are punishing those who do not obey. We might ask: by what right? Why must other peoples live by your rules?

Who then, tell us, who has given you the right to blacken the name of our people and to make up stories about us? It is unscrupulous and dishonorable!

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END

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